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Mary C. Clarkson

MEMOIRS

OF THE

COURT, ARISTOCRACY, AND DIPLOMACY

OF

AUSTRIA.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
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MEMOIRS

OF THE

COURT, ARISTOCRACY, AND DIPLOMACY

OF

AUSTRIA.

BY

DR. E. VEHSE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

FRANZ DEMMLER.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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LONDON:
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1856.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE COURT OF AUSTRIA.

CHAPTER IX.—*continued.*

LEOPOLD I.—*continued.*

1657—1705.

4. COURT OF LEOPOLD, AND PERSONAL NOTICES OF THE EMPEROR.

We possess an interesting description of the Austrian court by the Abbé Pacichelli, an Italian tourist who visited Vienna between the years 1670 and 1680, the period which forms about the middle of the reign of the Emperor Leopold.

"The Emperor," he says, "is of small stature and delicate complexion; the hanging lip, peculiar to the House of Habsburg, is so marked in him, that the eye-teeth protrude, which somewhat impedes his speech; his eyes and brow are majestic; his beard, which nearly covers his chin, is black; and he wears a periwig. His gait is languid. He is dressed in the Spanish fashion; red stockings and shoes, a red or black plume in his hat, and round his neck the

great collar of the Golden Fleece, which is sometimes covered by his mantle.

"Whilst dressing, he is attended by two chamberlains of the Golden Key; and two of the Black Key make his bed, present to him his clothes, and prepare his table, at which two jesters and two dwarfs are present to amuse his Majesty."

The chamberlains of the Golden Key were the lords of the bedchamber; those of the Black Key, the valets. The jesters and dwarfs were off duty only during the time of a court mourning, when the Emperor also would allow his beard to grow for six weeks.

"At the audiences the princes and ambassadors have precedence; then follow the priests and monks, to whom his Majesty offers his hand to kiss, whilst doffing his hat to them. At last, whoever wishes it may have an audience; it being the custom to have one's name put down in the lord chamberlain's book in the evening for the next morning, and in the morning for the evening. It is the rule to make three obeisances, as well on entering as on leaving. On retiring, you are to walk backwards. Every one bends his knee. The Emperor at the reception supports himself on a buffet. His Majesty asked me about the state of affairs on the Rhine (the French war of 1676), and said that he did not believe in a near prospect of peace. Like many foreigners, I received the gift of a golden chain, and of a medal exhibiting the portrait of the Emperor and the arms of the city of Vienna, which was worth 200 ducats.

"His Majesty every morning hears three masses in succession; at which he remains constantly on his knees, never raising his eyes from the many books which are spread before him on the floor. On high festivals, there is service in the court chapel, with the *cortége* of the ambassadors, and with music; and there are also about eighty such public devotions during Lent, at which it is the duty of the ministers to attend.

"The Emperor drives through the town with his guards, foot and horse, to the number of about 300, and with a train of more than twenty carriages. He either drives alone, or the Empress heads the procession. The courtiers and vassals accompany the procession bare-headed and on foot, except when it rains; in which case they may show themselves on horseback. All this spreads round the person of the Emperor *a really venerable Majesty* (veramente una venerabile Maestà).*

"At dinner the Emperor always takes his meal alone†; only allowing the sovereign princes of the Empire, if it is his pleasure to admit them, to sit down with covered head at his table. The Emperor is always covered. He remains at table about one hour, and carves his meat himself without any further assistance. There are regularly three tankards brought to him, one containing red wine, the other white, and the third water. During the meal, his Majesty converses with his pages, or with his jesters, or listens to the music. In the evening, he sups with his Imperial spouse in her apartments, and there they are waited on by ladies.

"During the hunting season, the Emperor, on coming occasionally from the country to the town, sometimes dines with the Empress-mother (Eleonora of Gonzaga), where

* This strict etiquette was afterwards changed. The chamberlains and other courtiers rode in Spanish costume, on horseback, by the side of the Emperor's coach. Yet even under Charles VI., when this change had taken place, the etiquette was rigorously kept up of the Emperor keeping the principal seat alone, and the Empress sitting with her back to the horses whilst driving through the town. In the country only, was the Empress allowed to sit by the side of his Sacred Cæsarean Majesty. Villars states, in his Memoirs, that in 1687 the Muscovite ambassadors stoutly refused the threefold obeisance, alleging that three bows were only due to the Trinity.

† The time of dinner was eleven o'clock in the morning. In a letter of Leopold to the librarian Lambec the passage occurs, "Velim, ut hodie subito *post prandium* hora duodecima ad me venias."

the meats are not so coarse as the fashion is in this country, but prepared with Italian delicacy. It will be sufficient to state that this lady has appointed, as her superintendent of the kitchen, a baron, who has spent little short of 100,000 florins in acquiring the art of cookery. The Emperor mostly drinks Moselle; but the Empress mother, wine of Mantua or Montferrat. When the Emperor dines in public, he sits in the centre of the table, with the Empress at the top; and it is then a very remarkable custom that the gentlemen of the bedchamber go down into the kitchen to receive the dishes, and the valets, who wait at table bare-headed, go out of the dining-hall to meet them, and take the dishes from their hands."

Leopold was a monarch adorned with all those general virtues which the grateful Jesuits and court parasites then used to extol to the stars; as, for instance, piety, love of justice, &c., virtues which in the main only consisted in the absence of their opposite vices, but the light of which was also contrasted with strong shades. Leopold undoubtedly was a very virtuous Cæsar; but his virtue was the very contrary of the Roman *virtus* as identical with manliness: he was a thoroughly weak man — Frederic III. over again. His long reign, like the one of that ancestor of his, was but a period of complete lethargy, during which the masses were ruled by those above them only by the *vis inertiæ*, and his Majesty contented himself with the halo of the power conferred upon his sacred person by the grace of God, whilst the courtiers and Jesuits were left to do whatsoever they listed. The "Chain of Nobles," which engrossed all the numerous offices at court, the places in the privy council, and the higher commands of the army; and the Spanish priests, who swayed the heart of his Imperial Majesty by his confessors Father Balthazzar Müller and Father Boccabella,—were in fact the absolute rulers of Austria.

The whole work of that great Emperor Leopold as a ruler

was comprised in the signing of the orders drawn up in his name by his ministers; in the writing of confidential letters to his brothers and cousins on the different thrones of Europe, and to favourite servants — as, for instance, to his family ambassador at Madrid, Count Pötting; and, lastly, in the giving of audiences. Leopold himself used carefully to register the acts of this threefold governmental function in his "Cracow Calendar;" thus, in the disastrous year of 1683, when the Turks drove him from his Hofburg, it is recorded that 8265 dispatches were signed, 386 letters written, and 481 audiences given by him. We need not, however, suppose that his Majesty deemed it conformable to his "*grandeur and splendour*" to know, or at all events to understand, what he signed. Leopold, like his descendant Francis II., was fond of correcting the style of the State papers which were laid before him. As to his Imperial autograph letters, his Majesty wrote such a wretched scrawl, that only a few of his clerks, after having been long accustomed to it, were able to decipher it. Leopold, therefore, never sent an autograph letter to a crowned head, without adding a fair copy by one of his scribes. Three times a week he gave public audience from seven until nine in the evening. The whole was conducted most ceremoniously, stiffly, and slowly; many an applicant had to wait for a month before his turn came.

Leopold's only positive acts as a ruler were despotical proceedings in the case of political crimes and of attempts of high treason; then, rousing himself from his habitual listlessness and indolence, he would strike very hard. He did in Hungary what Ferdinand II. had done in Bohemia. Both did it *in majorem Dei gloriam;* and both found in the estates confiscated from the old refractory aristocrats, the means wherewith to create a new and more pliant nobility. With the exception of these forcible demonstrations against the recalcitrant nobles, his Imperial Majesty was not troubled with any ordinary cares of government.

Reigning in the serene unclouded heights of the Imperial Olympus, by the magic *prestige* of his mediæval supremacy, he allowed the *Dii minorum gentium* to wield his thunderbolts for him.

This scion of the House of Habsburg was indeed the incarnation of the most impassive phlegm. Submitting himself with strictly religious composure to all the decrees of the Ruler above him, Leopold showed an equanimity equalling that of the Emperor Frederic III. One day, whilst he was sitting at table at Laxenburg, the lightning struck the very room where he was. Whilst every one about him was running in the wildest confusion, Leopold quietly said: "As the Lord has given such a visible sign that it is now a better time for praying and fasting than for banqueting, take the meats away." And after this he went to chapel.

The adoration which the world paid to the Emperor, and the miraculous luck of his house, fostered in him an extravagant idea of his being illuminated by supernatural inspiration, which imparted to him light, wisdom, and firmness far superior to that of his ministers. His confessors, far from suggesting to him any doubt of his prophetic light from above, intentionally and industriously confirmed him in his superstition. When, after the taking of Belgrade in 1668, the Turks wished to conclude a peace; Leopold refused to accept the offer, although it would have been most opportune, as a new French war was impending. Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria at that time said in confidence to the celebrated Marshal Villars, the French ambassador at Vienna, "One must know the Emperor as well as I do, to believe what the reasons are which keep him back. Monks have prophesied to him, that the Empress would be with child and bear twins; and that just then the Turkish Empire would fall, and one of the twins would ascend the throne of Constantinople. When Belgrade was taken, the Empress really happened to

be *enceinte,* and now the Emperor's belief is quite settled, that the rest of the prophecy will come true; and that is the reason why he does not wish to hear of peace."

All the great business of the state under Leopold went through the hands of the Jesuits and of the Camarilla. The Emperor with his phlegmatic temperament found more than sufficient occupation in the pursuit of his four fancies—the chase, music and the theatre, cards, and curiosities.

Leopold's great favourite was his chief ranger John Weichard Michael Count Sinzendorf. He succeeded in attracting his master, by a thousand arts, to enjoy the noble sport of hawking at Laxenburg, or of hunting the wild boar or stag at Schönbrunn or at Leopold's favourite resort of Ebersdorf; and then, during his absence, the ministers were at liberty to do as they pleased. Duke Charles of Lorraine, who afterwards became the Emperor's brother-in-law, and who was the grandfather of the Emperor Francis I., had introduced the French fashion of hunting. A pack of hounds was sent for from England, from King Charles II. It was the first ever seen at Vienna, where the sport became very popular at court. Dr. Edward Brown, the celebrated physician of Charles II., saw at Vienna the Emperor Leopold many a morning bringing home not less than six wild boars. The Empress-mother Eleonora of Mantua was not less passionately fond of hunting than her stepson. The ladies likewise joined in the sport of hawking, which was also very popular, and was carried on in most sportsmanlike style. The falconers were supplied by the village of Falkenwerde near Maestricht, at that time the first school of falconry in Europe.

The Emperor Leopold's passionate love of hunting became the proximate cause of the tobacco monopoly, which has been of such importance in Austria. A small pamphlet published on the subject in 1784, by Joseph

von Retzer, has shown from the records of the Aulic Treasury, that in 1670, the year in which the Jews were expelled, Leopold had not money enough to keep up his chase in the country west of the Enns. Then Count Francis Christopher Khevenhüller, the chief ranger of that district, a son of the celebrated annalist, offered to find the necessary funds for the chase, if a monopoly for twelve years were given him for importing tobacco into his province. The count having received it, the Jesuit Father Balthazzar Müller, the Emperor's confessor, took the matter in hand, and concluded contracts for forming the monopoly in other provinces. Retzer states, that most insolent letters from this influential spiritual adviser to the authorities are still extant in the records of the Aulic Treasury. This episode shows how well the Austrian aristocracy and the Jesuits understood how to manage the Emperor's fancies, for filling their own purses.

The studs of the Emperor were richly furnished with hunters and other horses, Turkish, Tartar, Bohemian, Polish, Hungarian, Transylvanian, Saxon, and Neapolitan.

Next to the passion for hunting, with the concomitant smaller sport of angling, Leopold's second great hobby was music and the theatre. Leopold did not keep his orchestra —consisting of the most distinguished Italian artists—not for church music only, as Ferdinand II. had done; but he had also a theatre and caused at Vienna and Schönbrunn brilliant operas and pastorals to be performed, in which the scenery and the costume were most magnificent. The getting up of one of these operas, "*Il Pomo d'Oro*," cost 100,000 florins. Grand battle scenes, rehearsed under the superintendence of the court fencing-master, were introduced. Count Mailath states the yearly sum expended on the orchestra to have been 44,780 florins: yet the musicians frequently received additional remunerations; and if, as might sometimes happen, their salaries were not regularly paid, they would strike. An incident

of this description took place on the Eve of St. Ignatius, the 30th of July, 1679. The musicians on that day went to vespers; but after a short stay, retired without performing, because the Aulic Treasurer had sent them word that for some time they could not receive a penny.

Leopold was not only fond of music, but he also performed himself. His thick hanging lip did not prevent him from playing the flute; he even composed very prettily. In good-natured astonishment at this talent, his band master one day paid to him the strange compliment, "What a pity that your Majesty has not become a musician!" To which the Emperor answered even more goodnaturedly, "Never mind; we are rather better off as it is!" On several occasions, as the English tourist Blainville states, the Pasquino of Vienna placarded the salutary admonition on the gate of the Imperial palace: "*Leopolde, sis Cæsar et non Musicus, sis Cæsar et non Jesuita.*" At each of the four places where, during the different seasons, his Majesty used to stay—in the Hofburg, in winter; at Laxenburg, in spring; at the Favorita, in summer; and at Ebersdorf, in autumn — there was a spinet with which he beguiled his leisure hours. Nor did he, the Emperor of the Romans, whilst surrounded by his court and the foreign ambassadors, at the solemn festivals of the church, deem it beneath his dignity to beat the time for the singers in his pew at the chapel in the Hofburg. The whole of Vienna became imbued with this fondness of the Emperor for music, which, like the passion for hunting, was particularly shared by Leopold's second wife, Claudia of Tyrol. She too played several instruments, and sang well. Her musical talent contributed not a little to secure the influence which she had over her husband. Claudia sometimes made use of the operatic representations, to tell her lord and husband things which he was not likely to hear anywhere else; thus she had once a piece performed, "*La lanterna di Diogene,*" in which

the speeches addressed to Alexander the Great were meant to set forth before Leopold the abuses rife at court. The third wife of Leopold, the saintly Eleonora of Mantua, accompanied her husband to the opera only with inward groans; and, instead of the libretto, read the Psalms.

Cards were another agreeable diversion with which the Emperor would amuse himself in the evenings; and he used to chronicle in his "Cracow Calendar" his gains or losses with the same exactness as he did the number of his signatures, of his letters, and of his audiences. Count Mailath has given a specimen of it. In the month of October, 1674, about the very time of the sudden downfall of Prince Lobkowitz, Leopold registered the following items:—

"1st and	2nd	October	19	ducats	lost.
	3rd	„	11	„	„
	11th	„	25	„	„
	13th	„	30	„	„
	21st	„	100	„	„
	24th	„	14	„	„
	30th	„	4	„	„
Per contra	9th	„	30	„	won.
	10th	„	32	„	„
	Sum total lost		203	ducats.	
	„ won		62	„	
	Remain lost		141	ducats.	

In 1683, the year of the siege of Vienna by the Turks, his Imperial Majesty seems to have frequently resorted to the solace of a game at cards; his losses, however, amounted to 976 ducats.

Collecting curiosities was likewise a great resource of amusement for the Emperor; besides which, he manufactured on a turning-lathe cups of ivory, as his father had

done before him. He also dabbled in watch-making, manufacturing automata, &c. In his rich museum of curiosities, Pacichelli and Dr. Brown saw 16,000 ancient Greek, Roman, and Imperial coins, in gold, silver, and copper; a collection of Indian curiosities, idols, statues of marble and bronze; nearly 300 gems and cameos—especially the Emperor Rodolph's celebrated agate, with the apotheosis of Augustus, and the onyx with the heads of Alexander and Olympia. His museum, besides, contained one of the richest collections of precious stones, gold and crystal; historical curiosities, such as the jerkin of Gustavus Adolphus in which he was killed at Lützen, and Tilly's sword: but a much greater number of mechanical curiosities, as for instance a magnificent cabinet, exhibiting at the same time an organ and a fountain; and a great curiosity, a magical glass, inherited from the Emperor Rodolph, within which a moving *spiritus familiaris* was said to be imprisoned. The picture-gallery, the foundation of which had been formed from the paintings brought by Leopold's uncle from the Netherlands, numbered more than 2000 pieces,—"it is true," says Pacichelli, "a host of very bad and many middling, and only a few good ones." Yet there were among them a Raffaelle, a Titian, and especially the celebrated Correggio, "The Rape of Ganymede;" which to this day is one of the principal ornaments of the pictorial treasures of Vienna, and which likewise came from the gallery of the Emperor Rodolph in Prague.

The taste of the Emperor Leopold for books also was confined to curiosities; Lambecius (Lambeck), his librarian, was often visited by him at the library, and even more frequently summoned to his Majesty's apartments to dispel the ennui of his Imperial master by literary pastime. There are still extant in the Imperial Library of Vienna hundreds of autograph notes from Leopold to Lambeck, the style of which is very characteristic of the Emperor's

habitual pedantry and stiffness.* Lambeck was such a favourite with his master, that on all the journeys of the Emperor he had to follow in the royal suite.

Leopold also, like the Emperor Rodolph, was the patron of all the itinerant adepts of the occult arts. One of them, the Milanese Chevalier Francesco Borri, accidently saved his life, when, in 1670, the year of the outbreak of the Hungarian "conspiracy," an attempt was suspected to have been made against the life of the Emperor by means of poisoned wax-tapers. The Pope had put a prize of 10,000 crowns on Borri's head, and given orders to have him arrested on his journey, on account of his pantheistic and physico-philosophical ideas. Coming from Denmark, he was arrested in Moravia on his way to Constantinople. When he was conducted through Vienna, the Emperor desired to see the adept. The audience took place at night by candle-light. It was not long before the Italian pointed out to the Emperor that, to judge from a certain smell pervading the room, there must be poison about; and he directed Leopold's attention to the smoke of the tapers. An investigation, which was made at once, proved the truth of Borri's assertion, who immediately administered to the Emperor an antidote. Out of gratitude for this service, Leopold induced the Pope to keep Borri only under open arrest in the castle of St. Angelo, within the precincts of which he had free egress and ingress. Borri died in 1681, after having performed a number of famous cures, even during his captivity. On many sides Leopold was cheated downright; thus, in 1675, there came an Augustine friar, Wenceslaus Seyler, from a monastery at Prague, to

* One of them may serve as an example:—

"Chare Lambeci! Velim ut hodie subito post prandium hora duodecima ad me venias, tecumque feras itinera illa Germanica, de quibus nuper mihi dixeras, nec non digna alia *curiosa* opera, cum quibus utiliter tempus fallere possim. Cetera ore tenus. Tu vero interim vale ac de mea Cæsarea gratia semper securus vive. LEOPOLDUS."

Vienna, and had himself announced as an adept to the Emperor. He accredited himself by changing in the presence of Leopold a copper basin, and also some tin, into gold (that is to say, he gilded it). The Emperor, in the joy of his heart at the idea that now his Bohemian tin mines would yield him more than the Hungarian gold mines, created the friar Baron Reinersberg and master of the men of Bohemia. The ducats which had been struck from the alleged new gold, he gave away as presents to his courtiers and guests. But the coin, although larger than the ordinary ducat, was too light by four grains. The Emperor was afterwards fully satisfied that he had been cheated; but, being conscious of having compromised himself too far to act with severity, he paid the very considerable debts which the friar had contracted at Vienna, and sent him back to Bohemia—very likely to the monastery from which he had escaped.

As late as the year 1704, one of the most famous alchymists, Don Dominico Manuel Caëtano, Conde de Ruggiero, "Field-marshal and Councillor of State of the Elector of Bavaria," came to Vienna. He had just escaped from Bavaria, where the Elector Maximilian Emanuel, whom he cheated at Brussels, had put him in prison. After Ruggiero had made gold in the presence of Prince Liechtenstein and Count Harrach, Leopold took him into his service, assigned to him a salary of 15,000 florins, and caused an especial sum to be paid to him besides towards the expenses of preparing the tincture. But the Emperor died before the tincture was ready; and Ruggiero was, in 1709, hanged as a cheat by the King of Prussia.

Leopold was no more of a courtier than he was a statesman; he had not even anything like royal address, nor the gift of commanding respect like Louis XIV. His etiquette was starched and absurdly pedantic. As an example of how far he went in this respect, it may be related that one day, when his body surgeon had occasion professionally to

examine and touch him as he was lying in bed, he cried, "*Eheu, hoc est membrum nostrum imperiale sacro-cæsareum.*" His small, frail, elfish figure was surmounted by a huge flowing wig, and, being excessively weak on his legs, his gait was waddling and unsteady. His speech, owing to his thick lips, was mumbling.

Least of all, however, was Leopold a soldier. During the forty-eight years of his reign, he was present only at four or five grand reviews; the most celebrated of which was the one held at Eger on the 22nd of August, 1673, at which the Elector of Saxony also attended. It was on the occasion of Montecuculi's leading the Imperial troops into the first war against France. When, in 1683, the Turks advanced before Vienna, his Majesty fled to the Salzburg Mountains; but the court parasites affected to take it as an auspicious omen that, in the rotation in which the Spanish Golden Fleeces, after the death of their wearers, were bestowed on newly elected knights, the order worn by Charles V. fell to "the Great Leopold," stamping him as the successor in the victorious career of the most illustrious of his ancestors.

5. WARS WITH FRANCE.

AFTER the gay times of the years 1660 to 1670, there followed a very gloomy period.

The dull, weak, and phlegmatic Austrian Leopold had for his antagonist the clever and most active Louis XIV. of France. These two potentates, at that time the greatest of Christian Europe, were contemporaries for nearly half a century. Louis XIV., notwithstanding his many and great faults, was a very different man from the two monkish Ferdinands, and from the dwarf *Leopoldus Magnus*. Louis XIV. gave a lustre to his court by assembling at it the greatest men of his time; and, whilst creating an excellent

school of illustrious generals, such as Condé, Turenne, Luxemburg, Vendôme, Villars, Berwick, Vauban, Catinat, Tessé, Boufflers, and Schomberg, he had statesmen such as Colbert, men of the church such as Fénélon and Bossuet, men of literature and the fine arts such as Corneille, Racine, and Molière, Mansard, Lenôtre, and Lully. The Emperor Leopold, on the other hand, stood, in the midst of his bevy of courtiers and Jesuits, alone and inglorious. The only men whom he had to oppose to the Great King were two foreigners; in the beginning of the first war, 1673, Montecuculi, and during the war of the Spanish Succession, Prince Eugene. The native Austrian generals of those times were, with scarcely an exception, mere insignificant bunglers and losers of battles.

Louis XIV., with whom those in power at Vienna would not keep friends, became a most dangerous enemy to Germany. It is true, that at last it was no longer possible to keep on terms of amity with him, as he showed too plainly his design of taking the Netherlands and the Rhine frontier. First, there was, in 1672, the invasion of Holland; then, in 1680, his Chambres de Réunion*; and, in 1681, the most glaring achievement in that line, the taking, in the midst of peace, Strassburg, the first fortress of Southern Germany. A similar fate was apprehended at that time for Cologne; to avert which, the great Elector of Bran-

* In the Peace of Westphalia, Alsace, and other provinces of the Rhine, *with all their dependencies*, had been adjudged to France. Louis XIV. now, at the suggestion of Roland de Revaulx, a parliamentary councillor of Metz, insisted upon having that clause interpreted to the effect, that whatever *at any time* had belonged to any of the ceded provinces should henceforth belong to France likewise. To make out these pretended claims, some of which dated as many as 1000 years back, Louis established, under the title of "Chambres de Réunion," four courts at Metz, Tournay, Breisach (Brissac), and Besançon. The matter was, by his own desire, to be discussed at a congress at Frankfort; but before it had time to meet he completed the spoliation by seizing Strassburg, the most important place of all.—*Transl.*

denburg made the utmost exertions. After this followed the encroachments of Louis in the Palatinate, to which the Duchess of Orleans, at the failing of the line of Simmern in 1685, was forced to proffer claims; his meddling with the election, in 1688, of the Bavarian Prince Joseph Clement, as Archbishop of Cologne, in opposition to whom Louis patronised the *cher ami de France* Count William Egon of Fürstenberg, the coadjutor of the archbishop; and, lastly, the incendiary expeditions in the Palatinate, which, being attempted for the first time in 1674, were repeated in 1678 and 1679. All this drove the very orthodox Papist and Jesuitical court of Austria into the alliance with the heretical maritime powers of England and Holland. This alliance was established by the Convention at the Hague in 1683, and by the Treaty of Vienna in 1689; and lasted until the Treaty of Versailles in 1756, when Kaunitz again brought about a junction with Papist France.

After the downfall of Lobkowitz, Austria had three great wars with France; the first, from 1673-79, was ended by the Peace of Nimeguen; the second, from 1688-97, by the Peace of Ryswick. During the last, the war of the Spanish Succession, from 1701-14, Leopold died.

The first war of 1673 broke out when Louis XIV. fell upon Holland, with a design of completely ruining that rich maritime power, which had become an important link in the family of the European states. Lobkowitz, who at that time was still at the head of the Austrian affairs, hoped to allay the storm. The Pope and France represented to the Emperor that he was acting contrary to his faith by allying himself with heretics, the maritime powers of England and Holland, and Brandenburg. France herself, as the Emperor well knew, was in league with the arch-enemy of Christendom, the Grand Turk. Yet a Christian sovereign might unite with any one except a heretic.

The first army which Leopold, in 1673, sent against

France, consisted of from 40,000 to 50,000 men; the contingent of the German Empire joined only in the following year. The Emperor reviewed his own troops in person at Eger, on the 22nd of August; and whilst he returned with Lobkowitz to Vienna, and from thence set out to celebrate his marriage with his second wife, Claudia of Tyrol (15th of October, at Grätz), Montecuculi proceeded with the army to the Rhine, to make a diversion in favour of the Dutch. The line of march was by Nuremberg to Lower Franconia. Here Montecuculi fell in with the French under Turenne, and drove them to the Rhine, where he conquered Bonn. But Lobkowitz knew how to stop the march of these troops by adroit orders and counter orders. Nay, Leopold, whilst his own troops marched to support the Dutch, sent to congratulate Louis XIV. on his successes against *the heretical Netherlands.* We meet here, for the first time, with a striking example of the Austrian policy, *of making war as a blind, whilst the secret diplomacy of the Cabinet pursued a different object.* It has been often repeated: — in the Silesian wars, after the treaty of Oberschnellendorf with Frederic the Great, to leave Bavaria in the lurch; in the French revolutionary wars, at the battle of Fleurus, again to sacrifice Bavaria, and from jealousy against Prussia; and lastly, when Suwarow stood in Italy, and Archduke Charles had to go from Switzerland to the Rhine, from jealousy against Russia. The soldiers were looked upon in this policy merely as food for powder. But these new practices were rather too strong for Montecuculi; who laid down the chief command, just as Archduke Charles did afterwards. He expressed himself in his usual sarcastic way: "I'd rather receive my orders direct from Paris, than get them through a long roundabout by-way of Vienna." After he had resigned under the plea of advanced age, the Count de Souches, who, in the Thirty Years' War, had been the saviour of Brünn, and after him, Count Spork, were appointed to the command of

the army. On the 17th of October, 1674, Lobkowitz was overthrown. It is evident that his fall was brought about by the Jesuits, who were ever active in the Spanish interest. But Austria, as Lobkowitz had foreseen very clearly, had then no chance against France. The Austrian arms having been rather unsuccessful on the Rhine during 1674-75, Montecuculi went once more to the army, entrusted with the absolute command over it, and at the same time invested with the character of an Imperial envoy to all the electors and princes of the Empire, and with special power to conclude peace. In this last campaign of Montecuculi, his great foe Turenne fell. In 1676, Duke Charles of Lorraine took the command.

The German empire, which was drawn into those French wars, suffered the most from them. The French plundered and devastated the borders of the Rhine with fire and sword, and in the peace Austria made the German Empire pay. This was the case in the Peace of Nimeguen (Nymwegen), or, as it was nicknamed, *Nimmweg* (Take away), and likewise in the Peace of Ryswick, nicknamed *Reiss weg* (Tear away). France retained everything that it had stolen in Alsace, by means of the "*Reunions;*" especially Strassburg, the key of the whole of Southern Germany. When Louis, by a proceeding never before heard of, took that fortress in 1681, Austria marched not a soldier against him; and, in the year 1682, Leopold consented to stand sponsor for the first grandson of Louis XIV. Not until 1688, seven years later, did the second war with France break out, about the Archbishopric of Cologne. In the Peace of Ryswick, the point concerning an equivalent for Strassburg was very forcibly brought forward, and Austria showed herself most reluctant to conclude peace. At last, the equivalent was found in the 1922 villages of the Palatinate, which had been "reunited" by Louis XIV., and which, by the fourth article of the Peace, were now to be restored; these places,

however, were juggled away from the Protestant body of the Empire, as it was expressly stipulated *that the Roman Catholic religion, which had been established in them during their occupation by the French, should henceforth be maintained.*

The acquisitions which Austria made in 1714, in the Peace of Rastadt, after the conclusion of the war of the Spanish succession, did not in the least benefit the German Empire; for Belgium and Milan were appropriated by the House of Habsburg, and incorporated with its own possessions.

6. ATTEMPTS TO CRUSH HUNGARY. — THE INSURRECTION OF ZRINY, NADASDY, AND TÖKÖLY, IN 1670 AND 1678. — THE SIEGE OF VIENNA BY THE TURKS IN 1683. — RECONQUEST OF BUDA (OFEN), AND OF HUNGARY. — THE BLOODY ASSIZE OF EPERIES. — PEACE OF CARLOWITZ IN 1699, AND THE LAST INSURRECTION OF RAGOCZY, 1701.

As Austria, since the days of Charles V., had in the West to struggle against France; thus she had in the East, since the same period, to combat her old arch-enemy, the ally of France, the Turk. Since the days of Soleyman, one half of Hungary was in the power of the Moslems. The Pasha of Hungary was residing in Buda-Pesth. Charles V., in his day, had been obliged to purchase peace by a tribute. Ever since the year 1545, an ambassador was regularly sent to the Sublime Porte, to convey this yearly tribute—"the present," as it was called — of 30,000 ducats to the Grand Turk. In 1606, in the time of the Emperor Rodolph II., the Turks had granted the last peace, that of Comorn: since then they remained quiet for more than half a century; — strange to say, even during the whole of the Thirty Years' War, when they might have caused the greatest difficulties to Austria. It was the golden tie by which the Moslems were kept fast.

Austrian Hungary was for the most part Protestant. But all the endeavours of the Jesuits at the Imperial Court were incessantly working for the purpose of bringing back Hungary, like Austria and Bohemia, to the fold of the Roman Church. To propitiate the proud independent Hungarian magnates, with their overbearing feudal spirit, no other means were known at the Imperial Court but force; to try what civilization and rational enlightenment might do was never thought of, until the days of Maria Theresa.

Even in the days of Ferdinand II., the Jesuits, with obstinate pertinacity, pursued the plan of re-introducing the "Spanish rule" in Hungary. Hormayr has communicated the minutes of a sitting of the Council of State in the year 1626, which was presided over by Ferdinand II., and at which the Papal Nuncio, the family ambassadors from Madrid and Florence, Cardinal Francis Dietrichstein, the Duke of Wallenstein, and the Premier, Prince Eggenberg, and the Privy Councillor, Count Harrach, were present.

The Spanish ambassador suggested, "that his lord and king would most gladly supply 40,000 men for forty years, and besides procure the aid of Poland with her hordes of Cossacks. The principal object was to buy over the Turks at any price, and to make them disinclined to Bethlen Gabor and to the Hungarians. As to the Hungarian barbarians, one should put over them foreign governors, who were to promulgate new and quite arbitrary laws, and to harass and oppress them in all sorts of ways without any legal redress. If the Hungarians applied to Vienna, the answer should be given 'that his Majesty had not the least cognizance of all this; and that he was greatly displeased with these proceedings.' In this way, the Hungarian beasts, who never saw further than their own noses, would not be able to fix any reproach on the Emperor, and would turn all their hatred only against the

governors. These, in spite of every difficulty and danger, should not swerve one hair's breadth from the great object; they should do their utmost to drive the Hungarians to frenzy by the most perfidious and crafty proceedings; and decree quite unheard-of chastisements against the disaffected nobles. The Hungarian nation, proud of its liberties and quite unused to such a yoke, would then necessarily rise in rebellion against the uncompromising governors; which would give the latter a most desirable opportunity, without any form of judgment or law, to dictate most cruel punishments and tortures against the traitors. The Hungarians, thus driven to desperation, would apply for help to their brethren in faith and to their neighbours; and when, in this way, the crop of high treason was standing in full ear, *the heads of the greatest and best should fall first.*"

This declaration was signed by the Emperor, and the whole Council of State. Wallenstein and Hieronymo Caraffa the elder, then (1626) the military commanders of Hungary, received orders "most carefully to watch the least movements of the people. The great fair at Sintau-on-the-Waag was shortly to take place. There, at the least sign of popular agitation, the crowd should be attacked with indiscriminate slaughter; and no one be spared whose height was above a cubit, who was more than twelve years old, or who spoke the Hungarian language. Such massacres must continue until the most powerful and the boldest men, who, by any possibility, might head a future rebellion, were crushed, expelled, or delivered over alive into the power of the Emperor. It mattered not that civil war devastated those countries for a lengthened period. They might again be peopled with *more manageable and unresisting foreigners;* as this great work, with the help of Spain, had succeeded before in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia."

Ferdinand II., too much occupied with German affairs,

was able only to carry two points in Hungary— the removal of the dreaded Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania (1629), both of whose successors, the Ragoczys, placed themselves under Turkish protection; and the election, as Palatine of Hungary, of a magnate who was devoted body and soul to the interests of the Imperial House, Nicholas Estoras de Galantha, the ancestor of the present Princes Esterhazy. This nobleman, a younger son of a *greatly impoverished family, was a convert*, and had thus founded the splendour of his house. Ferdinand II. raised him, in 1636, to the dignity of hereditary Count of Forchtenstein. He was the principal patron of the Jesuits, and even then wealthy enough to build for the reverend fathers the church of Tyrnau, at an expense of 80,000 florins. The Esterhazys and the Jesuits were the principal promoters of the influence of Austria in Hungary—an influence, which, under Leopold, was sufficiently established to allow him to think again of the execution of that Spanish device.

The Turks, after having kept quiet all the time since the truce of Comorn in 1606, began to make such encroachments in Hungary, that the Emperor Leopold, very much against his will, was at last obliged, in 1661, to declare war against them. In 1663, the *last German Imperial Diet was held at which a German Emperor made his appearance.** It sat at Ratisbon to discuss the supply for the Turkish war. The Empire and even Louis XIV. furnished subsidiary troops: the latter 5000 men; but—at least as the councillors of the Emperor asserted—*with the secret intention to support the Hungarians against Austria, and with*

* The Diet thenceforth sat permanently at Ratisbon, the Emperor sending to it, as his representatives, so-called principal Commissaries—Princes, Counts of the Empire, and Bishops. The alliance with the maritime powers, in 1683, procured for the Emperor those supplies which heretofore had to be furnished by the Empire; and ever since that time, the Imperial Diet lost its importance.

secret orders, in case of a battle, to retire, and to spread confusion. The war was at first very disastrous; the forays of the Turks extending as far as Olmütz and Brünn in Moravia. At last, on the 1st of August, 1664, Montecuculi, urged on by the princes of the German Empire, and even more so by the French, gained the great victory over the Turks near St. Gotthardt. Very strange things, however, happened after the victory was won. It was not the conquered but the conqueror who sued for peace; and nine days after, the Imperial Resident Minister, Reninger, obtained in the tent of the Grand Vizier at Vasvar (Eisenburg) first a truce, and, on the 26th of September, a peace for twenty years. At these negotiations, neither the Hungarian States nor the princes of the German Empire were represented by envoys; the former protested in due form, the latter expressed themselves to the effect that "for the future they would no more grant any subsidies on the part of the German Empire, unless they were allowed to be represented by their envoys at the treaties with the Turks, *so that they might know what was going on.*" Two important fortresses, Neuhäusel and Great Waradin, were made over to the conquered Turks. Transylvania, which until then had been governed by a prince dependent on the Emperor, now became, by the cession of Great Waradin, to all intents and purposes a Turkish province, where the Ottoman cavalry, instead of being sent every autumn to Asia, might thenceforth take up its winter-quarters. The Venetian ambassador, Sagredo, expressly writes: "That in the peace of Vasvar, the Emperor had had no other intention than to keep the unruly Hungarians in check by the fear of the Turks; and by giving up to the Moslems those two important fortresses, to put the Hungarians the more forcibly under the necessity of seeking help from Austria. An example of what humiliations the *victorious* Emperor at that time endured from the Turks, was given, in the following year, at the farewell audience, which the Imperial

ambassador, Count Leslie, had of the Sultan. The Austrian Resident Minister, Reninger, owing to the infirmities of age and being also afflicted with gout, could not bow low enough; at once the gate-keepers of the seraglio unceremoniously seized him, and knocked his head with such violence on the pavement that his scalp was cut in several places.

From that time, the point on which the Spanish Jesuit policy in Vienna hinged was "the closest connection with the Turks, so as to have one's hands unfettered for the suppression of Hungary." Leopold allowed the Jesuits free action everywhere; and they made full use of their power in Hungary, and moreover at Constantinople, where, since Leslie's embassy, the Divan had become accessible to them.

The Hungarians had a fundamental law, dating from the year 1222, seven years after the granting of the English Magna Charta. It was the Golden Bull of King Andrew II. of the ancient native House of Arpad, a law on which all the former kings of Hungary, including those of the House of Habsburg, had to take their oath on their coronation. Article XXXI. of this Hungarian Magna Charta stipulated that the magnates should have the *privilege of insurrection;* that is to say, the right of resistance in case any of the kings should infringe the liberties of the country, one of these liberties being that no foreign troops should be tolerated in the kingdom. Thus far the Hungarians were in the right, and their insurrection was no conspiracy; but they were utterly wrong in obstinately blinding themselves to the fact, that owing to their having been unable to make head against the Turks by their own unaided power, the presence of German garrisons had become a matter of necessity. It was a complete absurdity to expect that the ruler of Austria, as King of Hungary, should protect that kingdom; but that he should not make use of the only available means for doing so. The Hunga-

rian Golden Bull, moreover, was very different from the English Magna Charta; *inasmuch as it exempted the magnates from all taxes and contributions towards the defraying of the public expenses, and consequently towards the maintenance of a sufficient armed force.* The Peers of England pay, and even pay more than the Commons, who, on the other hand, alone vote the budget; *the Hungarian magnates paid nothing, but made the* "misera plebs contribuens" *pay everything.* With the most stubborn pertinacity, they held to this privilege of exemption, as the palladium of their kingdom; although it had become a glaring wrong, since the magnates were no longer able to protect the country. This state of things lasted until the year 1848. The Cabinet of Vienna, with consummate states-craft, fixed on this very privilege: it met the wrong of the Hungarians, in the substance of the still existing law, by another wrong in its explanation; declaring that, whatever rights the Hungarians had possessed, they had forfeited them by their resistance.

There were seven men who at that time wielded the power in Hungary, and who were drawn into this contest of conflicting principles — Wesselenyi, the two Zrinys, Ragoczy, Nadasdy, Frangipani, and Tököly. Only the first and last of these personages, Wesselenyi and Tököly, at least as far as can now be made out, were pure and patriotic characters. The others, as the Hungarians unfortunately have always done, seem to have availed themselves of the movement with the sole view of first creating difficulties for the Cabinet of Vienna, of over-awing it, *and then joining with it to serve their own interests.* The worst of them was Nadasdy, "the Crœsus of Hungary," who fell the deepest. The Emperor sacrificed him, just as Ferdinand II. had done Wallenstein, to buy with his spoil a bevy of new and safe partisans in Hungary.

Francis Wesselenyi was the Palatine of Hungary, the first man of the kingdom. He was descended from one of

the oldest Hungarian Houses, which traces its line up to St. Stephen of Hungary. One of his ancestors, as early as the fifteenth century, had held the dignity of palatine of the kingdom, and was one of the first batch of the Knights of the Burgundian Golden Fleece. The Palatine was a wealthy and jovial man, and had proved his valour in the Turkish war. His wife, the voluptuous, heroic Maria Szetsi, had a principal share in the alleged conspiracy which was prepared against Austria; but she paid very dearly for her adulterous love for her husband's secretary, Francis Nagy, of Lesseny, who rewarded her favours by betraying her to the cabinet of Vienna.

Wesselenyi succumbed to a slow fever, three years before the outbreak of what the Camarilla called the conspiracy. He died in 1667, at his steep mountain castle Murany, on the Carpathians, which now belongs to the House of Coburg-Kohary; the malady having suddenly seized him on his return from the momentous meeting at Neusohl. It was but natural that the Hungarians suspected foul play on the side of Austria; but nothing has ever been proved. Another principal leader of the movement, Nicolas Zriny, died before its public outbreak. He was great-grandson of that Nicolas Zriny who, in 1566, had died in the heroic defence of the fortress of Szigeth against Soleymam. In his case, there could be no doubt as to the real nature of his death. Although it was given out that a wounded wild boar had gored him, his body being found lacerated in a wood near his seat of Tschakathurn; a bullet-hole in his head showed the real cause of his death. Suspicion rested on one of his pages; but more strongly on Nadasdy, who saw in Zriny a dangerous rival. Nicolas Zriny had likewise distinguished himself against the Turks. He was called "the second Scanderbeg;" and he was Ban of Croatia, and Knight of the Golden Fleece.

Peter Zriny, the brother of Nicolas, succeeded him as Ban of Croatia. His wife, the passionate and magnificent

Ann Catharine, of the House of Frangipani, was thought to have been—after the wife of the Palatine, Maria Wesselenyi—the principal promoter of the dangerous undertaking. The Emperor Leopold called the rebellion which afterwards broke out by the name of Peter Zriny, who was accused of having entertained the plan of putting himself and the country of Croatia as tributaries under the protection of the Turks.

Francis Nadasdy was High Steward (Hofrichter) of Hungary, and Imperial Privy Councillor. From his colossal wealth, he was called the Crœsus of Hungary. He was a man of bad character, and very likely a traitor to both sides. At an earlier period, he was, like Nicolas Zriny, a decided partisan of Austria, and wished to rise by her; but Austria cast him down very low.

Nadasdy fell; and so did Peter Zriny, and moreover the brother-in-law of the latter, Francis Christopher Frangipani, the last male lineal descendant of that ancient Roman house which, in the thirteenth century, gave up Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufens, to his doom.

The sixth among the heads of the great Hungarian movement, Francis Ragoczy, was the son and grandson of George I. and George II. Ragoczy, the two immediate successors of the great Bethlen Gabor as Princes of Transsylvania. When, in 1666, he married Helena, the heroic daughter of Peter Zriny, who was wedded in second marriage to the celebrated Emeric Tököly; the Emperor sent to her wedding, as his special envoy, the first prelate of Hungary, the Archbishop of Gran, as the bearer of a present for the bride, consisting of a jewel of the value of 6000 florins. From this it is evident that, like Nadasdy and Nicholas Zriny, he was at one period on good terms with the Court of Vienna; but he did not ultimately share their fate.

The seventh of the magnates enumerated above, Stephen Tököly, the father of Emeric, was the purest and most

honest character among all of them. Being the most independent of all the chieftains of Upper Hungary, he, and after him his son, proved themselves most formidable opponents of the House of Austria.

It has never been shown what was the real share of these seven men in bringing about the so-called conspiracy which broke out in 1670, or how far they carried on the intrigues imputed to them with the Turks. The Austrian Government, it is true, proceeded against them, and executed some of them; but it never published any of the records of the trial.

The discovery was owing to the weakness of woman, and to priestly cunning. The widow of Wesselenyi, as mentioned before, was betrayed and sold by her own lover. He and the chaplain of the castle of Murany sent the first information to Vienna. But even before having received any positive proofs of a contemplated plot, the Austrian Government provoked an insurrection by adopting prompt and energetic measures on mere suspicion. Acting on the Spanish advice, it sent orders early in the spring of 1670, to the troops in Bohemia to march to the Waag; to those in Silesia, to march to Troppau; and to those in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, to march to Croatia. The latter division was commanded by Duke Charles of Lorraine; it comprised 18,000 men, together with the troops of the faithful magnates, the Esterhazys, Erdödys, Zichys, Palffys, and Forgatsch — all of them families which owed their wealth to Austria, and which to this day belong to the richest of Hungary.

The Duke of Lorraine laid siege to Wesselenyi's castle, Murany; which surrendered in August, 1670, on capitulation. From the underground vaults of this stronghold, a whole caskful of papers left by the late Palatine, were taken, which, as Hormayr says, "afforded very doubtful evidence of the existence of the 'insurrection;' if insurrection were only another term for conspiracy, the papers

certainly compromised and incriminated one half of Hungary. The great family treasure of the Wesselenyis having been concealed at the Franciscan hospital at Kremnitz, the secret was betrayed by Father Joseph Schaumburg, formerly domestic chaplain at Murany. The whole of it was confiscated for the benefit of the Imperial exchequer.

The Dowager Palatina Wesselenyi surrendered to the noble-hearted Duke Charles of Lorraine; who made it a point of honour that the capitulation should not be faithlessly broken, as was done by nearly all the other Imperial generals: otherwise her fate would have been even more unfortunate than it really was; for there was irresistible proof of her having played a principal part in the affair. She was kept in very rigid confinement at different nunneries of Vienna. Of the whole colossal fortune of the Wesselenyis she received only a monthly pension for life of a hundred dollars; *and her innocent children lost everything.*

Peter Zriny, the Ban of Croatia, after negotiating for some time, surrendered his castle of Tschakathurn, and went of his own accord with his brother-in-law Frangipani to Vienna, to give himself up to the Emperor. When, on the 18th of August, 1670, they arrived there at the Swan Inn, some one was sent by the court, in the evening, to put them under arrest. *Their treasure and plate was likewise brought from Croatia to Court.*

Nadasdy, having been arrested early in the morning at his estate of Pottendorf by a detachment of 200 horsemen, was brought into Vienna as a prisoner on the 6th of September, 1670. As early as on the 11th the attorney of the Imperial treasury went to Pottendorf to seize all the papers of Nadasdy, and to put his Austrian estates under sequestration; his name having previously been struck out from the list of the Austrian immatriculated nobles. At the same time, the Imperial troops took possession of the strongholds belonging to Nadasdy in Hungary. "*The principal*

substance" of his household furniture, and his treasure in money and jewels, were conveyed in eight waggons to the Imperial treasury at Vienna.

A special commission was now appointed for the trial of the prisoners. In accordance with the Spanish advice, it sat out of Hungary; and no Hungarian was among the commissioners. Every form of law was so completely set aside, that none of the witnesses were confronted with the prisoners, or even named to them; some of the commissioners having laid down the law, that in a case of high treason it was quite unnecessary to produce witnesses. Other commissioners, putting in the plea of common sense and of the natural rights of man, were answered "*that natural rights had never been in force in Hungary*" (*ast contra responsum, jus naturæ nullo tempore in Hungaria fuisse receptum*).

Nadasdy was for the first time examined before the commission on the 13th of October, at the residence of the Aulic Chancellor, Hocher, the chairman of the commission. Chagrin and mortification threw the captive "Crœsus" on a sick bed, when two physicians were allowed him. Lest he should be tempted to poison himself, his food was sent to him from the Imperial kitchen.

Immediately after the arrest of the heads of the insurrection, the Hungarians had taken up arms and obstructed the mountain passes. They now applied for help to the Turks, but to their great consternation were refused; the Divan would not even receive their envoys. Michael Apaffy, Prince of Transylvania, received strict orders from the Sublime Porte not to meddle in any way with the affairs of the Hungarians. The same orders were issued to the Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia, and to the Pasha of Great Waradin. The Turks, indeed, concentrated some troops round Temeswar and Kanischa, but it was only for the protection of their frontier; the Porte gave the most explicit assurances that there should be no intervention. The Pashas gave up the rebels. Apaffy, by

orders from Constantinople, even caused some of the Hungarian insurgents to be beheaded, who had taken refuge in Transylvania.

On the 29th of April, 1671, at ten o'clock in the evening, Nadasdy was ignominiously expelled the House of the Representatives of Lower Austria. The recorder of the House first delivered an address, in which he called Nadasdy Count and Lord; but at last concluded: "*That* he has been, but now he is so no longer; but thou traitor, &c., thou art and will for ever remain stripped of thy name, honour, dignity, and estate, thou and the whole of thy family." Nadasdy, greatly affected by it, broke out in the words: "*Vitam, honores, et bona tolle; saltem liberis serva famam.*" Yet his children were not permitted to call themselves Counts Nadasdy, but only "Nobiles von Creutz" (of the Cross); and the Emperor, however, allowed them a pittance to live upon.

On the following day, 30th April, 1671, Nadasdy was executed in Vienna; and on the same day, Zriny and his brother-in-law, Frangipani, at Neustadt; and besides them, at Presburg, Boris, a Protestant nobleman, who only just before his death turned Papist.

Nadasdy's execution took place at the town-hall of Vienna, in the large council-room, in the presence of the persons belonging to the city court of justice; of some cavaliers; *and of the Turkish messenger, with his interpreter, "so that he might be better able to report it to the Grand Turk."* Whilst it was going on, between ten and eleven in the morning, all the gates and shops were closed, the streets lined by a double row of soldiers, and kept by patrols of cuirassiers, who drove everyone to their homes. Nadasdy behaved with great composure. After his eyes were bandaged by his servant, and he had repeated a short prayer, he waved his hand to the executioner as a signal. His head fell at the first stroke. The clause of the sentence, that his hand should be cut off, was remitted

by the Emperor only on the very morning of the execution. The body was publicly exhibited to the people for one hour. It had been placed in a coffin, with the head unfixed, in Hungarian costume, stained all over with his blood. At the Burgher Arsenal of Vienna, the sword and the stool are still shown which were used at Nadasdy's execution.

Zriny and Frangipani were only despatched by the second stroke; for which the executioner was put in irons and brought to trial. Frangipani behaved in the most cowardly way; as also did John Erasmus, Count Tattenbach*, who was executed on the 1st December, 1671.

On the other hand, Stephen Tököly made a most heroic defence in his strong castle of Arva, which is romantically situated high up in the Carpathian Mountains, near the Silesian frontier. There he was besieged by Godfrey Heister, one of the wildest campaigners of that time; who—having risen from the ranks during the storms of the Thirty Years' War, and been made a baron, like Jean de Werth and so many others before him,—held now the chief command in Hungary. Tököly flatly refused Heister's demand to admit Imperial troops into his fortified castles, protesting that he was no rebel, but had always been a faithful vassal of his Imperial Majesty and of the Crown of Hungary—*but that he was resolved to uphold the liberty of the country.* Whilst the siege was still going on, Tököly, who had long been ill, breathed his last. His death happened even before the end of the year 1670. The garrison of Arva, consisting of Germans, now capitulated. † Tököly's son, the young

* There was a particular reason for not showing any mercy to this nobleman. He had inherited the Imperial county of Reinstein, near Blankenburg, a fief of the see of Halberstadt, which the Archduke Leopold William, the great pluralist, as bishop of that diocese, had bestowed on Tattenbach's uncle. The Emperor, who now gave it to the Elector of Brandenburg, the actual possessor of Halberstadt, received from the latter in exchange a body of 4000 auxiliaries.

† Among the treasures sent from Tököly's spoil to Vienna, there was a string of pearls, above nine yards in length, "of which the Imperial treasury kindly undertook the charge."

Count Emeric, had escaped by night to another fortified castle. Being now put at the head of the insurrection, he caused serious difficulties to the Emperor who, in 1673, was drawn into his first war against Louis XIV.; whilst France sent to the Hungarians, by way of Poland, money and engineers; and whilst the Turks also, the faithful allies of France, completely changed their line of conduct towards them—although gold in profusion had been sent to Constantinople to bribe the Divan into keeping the peace.

Francis Ragoczy, the son-in-law of the beheaded Peter Zriny, had an amnesty granted to him by Heister, in the name of the Emperor, on condition of his admitting, "according to promise," Imperial troops into his fortified castles; and of giving up, if possible, the records of the conspiracy. This pardon had been obtained by the intercession of Ragoczy's mother,* who engaged to pay 400,000 florins in cash, besides corn and ammunition, to the court; and who, as is stated in the records, had "powdered the *Patres Societatis Jesu* all over with gold dust."

As, fifty years before, the utter corruption of the aristocratic rule had been the principal cause of the Imperial power gaining the victory, and in fact becoming absolute in Bohemia; and as, one century later, the equally corrupt rule of the Polish aristocracy mainly led to the division and ultimate ruin of their unfortunate country;—thus it happened also in Hungary, *which likewise was to have been a paradise of the privileged nobles, a land only of masters and serfs.* But as early as that time, the Austrian government understood that secret of using the peasantry as a tool, which under Joseph II., during the Wallachian rebellion of Horja, and in our own days, in the atrocities

* She was of the illustrious Polish house of Bathory; an ancestor of which, Stephen Bathory, had (1574) obtained the Polish crown. She was therefore allied to the Imperial house, the sister of Ferdinand II. having married a nephew of Stephen Bathory Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, which latter died in 1630.

of 1846 in Gallicia, has proved its terrible effectiveness; and thus Leopold became quite popular among the common people in Hungary, making a show of compassionating the fate of the *misera plebs contribuens.* The peasants were called upon fearlessly to come forth and state their complaints against their landlords. But, as the Polish peasants kept aloof at a similar call from Stanislaus Poniatowsky, so the Hungarian people, with instinctive tact, mistrusted the liberal intentions of the paternal government of the Emperor, and kept their grievances to themselves.

The arbitrary despotism with which the Austrian ministers lorded it over Hungary, was undoubtedly of Jesuit and Spanish growth; yet, in justice and fairness, it ought not to be forgotten that it could never have been carried out, had it not been abetted by the obsequious perfidy of the Hungarian nobles, each of whom, to push his own fortune, would never scruple to betray his neighbour. Insolent upstart bureaucrats, like Hocher, could not have presumed to speak of "*measuring the Hungarians for Bohemian trousers*" (dealing with them as had been done with the Bohemian rebels), had not Hungarian nobles of the highest rank most readily come forward to do duty as spies, informers, and accusers.

One of the most notorious of these false brethren was the infamous Stephen Zichy, president of the Aulic Council and Imperial chamberlain. He was at first gravely implicated in the charge against Wesselenyi, whose plans he was accused of having known and abetted. But he succeeded in getting off by means of some well-applied bribes, and afterwards turned principal king's evidence. The Zichy family, who trace their descent to the times when the Magyars still pitched their tents in the steppes of Tartary, and to whom the third wife of Prince Metternich belongs, have produced several specimens of the Judas tribe; the last of whom was that Count Zichy, who, in 1848, was hanged as a spy by Görgey.

Whoever was rich was placed on the list of the suspected; after which, he might at any moment be arrested, and finally be put to death. His estates were then confiscated, the informers and murderers dividing the spoil between them. The numerous jails of Vienna did not suffice for the crowds of Hungarian prisoners; many of whom, therefore, were quartered with their guards at the inns.

On the 23rd March, 1673, Caspar von Ampringen, the harsh and cruel Grand-master of the Teutonic Order, was installed as Imperial governor of Pressburg, on which the Protestants of that town immediately emigrated.

The Hungarians now had to give up their churches, German and Hungarian, to the Papists. Some time after, they, however, were allowed to build new ones for Protestant worship. But on the 18th of June, 1672, Protestants as well as Papists were forced to join in person, with the flags of their corporations and guilds, the procession instituted by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Gran; and the whole body of citizens were disarmed. Even the Prince of Transylvania, Michael Apaffy, returned to the fold of the Church of Rome.

Those only who abjured Protestantism were sure of saving their lives, and to some extent their property. They, however, were, under any circumstances, mulcted of a certain sum, which had to be paid to the Imperial treasury. The amount of the confiscated property was enormous. To clear the estates, thus converted into royal demesnes, of any liabilities with which they might still be burdened, the creditors were called upon to make known their claims; after which, bankruptcy was declared.

The hardest fate befell the Protestant preachers and schoolmasters; who, it is true, were not of a character to deserve much sympathy. They were arrested, and condemned to the penalties of loss of honour, of confiscation of property, and even of death. An instance happened of

250 Lutheran clergymen being called together, and then, without any shadow of truth, being charged with conspiracy and thrown into prison. They afterwards disappeared in the dungeons of Bohemia; in which country, since 1621, any act of arbitrary tyranny might be committed with perfect impunity. The worst, however, remains to be told. *Thirty-eight of these pastors were sold, at fifty crowns per head, as galley-slaves to Naples.* The gallant Admiral de Ruyter, at the time that Holland leagued herself with Austria, found an opportunity of obtaining the liberation of most of those poor clergymen; nay, the Dutch resident minister in Vienna, Hamel Bruyninx, published a special book on the subject of these cruelties of Austria.

The discontented Hungarians, as the Spanish advisers of the Emperor had very craftily foreseen, threw themselves into the arms of France; and now they were ripe for judgment. Louis XIV. received the Hungarian envoy Caspar Czandor like the ambassador of a sovereign power, and had medals coined on which he called himself the "liberator of Hungary."

In 1678, Count Emeric Tököly, the Protestant ally of Papist France,—just as the Papist Emperor was the ally of Protestant Holland,—raised the standard of general insurrection. John Sobiesky having, in 1676, concluded a peace with Turkey, now likewise aided the Hungarians; and all the Hungarians and Poles who had to fly to the provinces under the rule of the Sultan, received shelter and protection from the pashas: who refused to give them up, alleging, "That the strangers, without becoming a burden to the country, were living on their own means."

Whilst thus the state of affairs in Hungary darkened the horizon of Austrian policy, another terrible scourge came to Vienna from the same quarter. In 1679, a plague broke out, of which people generally died within the twenty-four hours. Whoever was able to get away, took refuge in the country; every day, the bells were tolled and prayers offered

up in all the churches. The Imperial children were taken to Znaym in Moravia; the Emperor with the Empress went to Prague. In Vienna, several barber-surgeons had to be put in irons, and thus be forced to do duty in the hospitals. It was during this awful visitation, that Count, afterwards Prince Schwartzenberg distinguished himself by the courage, thoughtfulness, and humanity with which he endeavoured to mitigate the sufferings, and allay the fears of the panic-stricken population.

In the threefold distress of the plague, of a threatening French war, and of the most harassing financial straits, Leopold condescended to negotiate with the rebels. He employed as his mediator the Bishop of Lelesz (a small town in the county of Zemplin, which was the head-quarters of the malcontents).

The result, however, was not peace, but war. Leopold was greatly terrified when, about the end of the year 1680, Halley's comet reappeared; the same which, in 1607, had so much frightened Rodolph II. The Emperor was at Linz, as he had been obliged to quit Prague in the beginning of June, the plague having broken out also in that city.

On the 12th of May, 1681, Leopold, coming from Linz, made his entry at Oedenburg, to be present at the Hungarian Diet; and on the 13th of June, Paul Esterhazy was elected Palatine of Hungary. In October, the Emperor received by express from Count Königseck, the vice-chancellor of the Empire, the news of the surrender of Strassburg to Louis XIV.

Leopold now would gladly have given in and granted everything; but Tököly expected to find more truth and faith with the Grand Turk than with the Emperor of the Romans. The demands of the Hungarians were comprised under eleven heads:—

"1. Palatini auctoritas stabilienda.
2. Militis *nativi* auctio.
3. Contributionis noviter impositæ sublatio.

4. Officiorum regni *nativis* distributio.
5. Cameræ Hungaricæ reformatio.
6. Militis *extranei*, ubi non est necessarius, eductio.
7. Bonorum fiscalium restitutio.
8. Religionis complanatio.
9. Amnestia universalis.
10. Captivorum liberatio.
11. Diæta pro sublevandis particularium gravaminum difficultatibus proxime promulganda."

As to the restoration of the Protestant churches, and the restitution of the confiscated estates to the unoffending children, the Emperor would not, or rather dared not, enter upon that point; the Jesuits and the Aulic Chancellor Hocher most violently setting their heads against it. The diet dragged on without affairs progressing, owing to the violent opposition of the Hungarians. In the meanwhile, the crown of St. Stephen, until then kept in the Imperial treasury at Vienna, was solemnly brought to Oedenburg, and the Empress was crowned with great pomp, on the 9th of December. After the ceremony, the crown was once more entrusted to its native keepers, Count Stephen Zichy and Count Christian Erdödy, and conveyed to Pressburg; and on the 31st of December, the Emperor arrived again at Vienna, having previously bestowed on the new Palatine, Paul Esterhazy, the Golden Fleece, and made him a privy councillor.

Whilst the diet was still deliberating, Tököly gave warning of the truce which had been concluded by the Bishop of Lelesz, and went to the vizier at Buda-Pesth, where he received from the Sultan the sabre, the caftan, and the heron's plume. He formally put himself under the protection of the Sublime Porte, and was confirmed by the Sultan as King of Hungary, as John Zapolya had been before him in the days of Ferdinand I. On the 14th of July, 1682, Tököly married the widow of Francis Ragoczy*,

* He had died in the preceding year.

the daughter of the beheaded Ban of Croatia Peter Zriny; four weeks after, the Palatine Count Paul Esterhazy married a sister of Tököly at Eisenstadt. The former drew his sword for the Sultan, the latter for the Emperor; and on the 2nd of August, 1682, the first Protestant sermon was again preached at Pressburg. Tököly, however, continued to negotiate as late as January, 1683, with the Imperial government; but Hocher, a short time before his death (1st of March, 1683), refused to entertain his ultimate proposal that—like the princes of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor and the two Georges Ragoczy—he should be declared an independent prince of the Empire and ruler of five counties beyond the River Theiss. Not until this was refused, did Tököly openly come forth as generalissimo of the Turkish Emperor. He circulated—as it were as a manifesto of war—in many thousand copies a pamphlet, "Sufferings of the Hungarians and their Complaints against the Germans." He reconquered the whole of Upper Hungary; confiscated the Imperial domains situate there; and ordered all the Roman Catholic priests and conventuals to give up their churches within twenty-four hours, and forthwith to leave the country. He had coins struck, showing on one side a hand with a drawn sabre and the legend "*Pro Deo et Patria*," and on the other his bust with the words "*Emericus Comes Teckely in Kaesmarky Dux Hungariæ.*" He commanded an army which, with the auxiliaries brought to him by two pashas and by the Transylvanians, Moldavians, and Wallachians, amounted to 60,000 men. The whole of Moravia and Silesia was struck with terror.

But there was behind Tököly a much more terrible power. The Turks now broke forth, and with them the French. Louis XIV. had brought about in the Divan that Kara Mustapha should invade Hungary with 280,000 men, whilst he himself was about to attack the Empire in the west by overrunning the Spanish Netherlands.

It was in July, 1683, that the hosts of the Grand Turk first appeared in sight of Vienna. The Emperor had to oppose to them only the ninth part of their number — 33,000 men. These troops were placed under the command of Duke Charles of Lorraine; who not only became the saviour of Vienna, but also the ancestor of the new dynasty which was destined to rule over Austria after the extinction of the direct male line of the House of Habsburg.

Duke Charles of Lorraine had been driven by Louis XIV. himself to Vienna, where he was to found anew the fortune of his family, Louis having kept his country from him. He came as a refugee to Vienna, and there married the sister of the Emperor Leopold, Eleanor, Queen-dowager of Poland, who had fallen in love with him. He was at that time thirty-five, and the lady ten years younger. Through the issue of this marriage, he became the grandfather of Francis I., the husband of the heiress of Habsburg, Maria Theresa.

Duke Charles, the fourth of this name who reigned over Lorraine, was the nephew of the reigning Duke Charles III., from whom dates the misfortune of the house. His uncle Charles III. was son of Count Francis of Vaudemont and Christina of Salm. Francis of Vaudemont was a cadet of his house; and Christina, who was of the house of the Rhinegraves, brought to him as her dowry half of the county of Obersalm in Lorraine. Charles III. married, in 1621, Nicolæa, the daughter of the then reigning Duke Charles II., his uncle, who had no sons. Thus Charles III., after the death of Charles II., in 1624, became reigning duke.

This Charles III. was one of the greatest "lions" and adventurers of the seventeenth century. In his time began the quarrels, which lasted upwards of a century, between his house and that of Bourbon, and which ended in the amicable arrangement of 1735, when Lorraine was

embodied with France, and the old dynasty, with the prospect of succeeding to the Austrian inheritance, had to accept Tuscany as compensation. Ever since Gaston, Duke of Orleans, the brother of Louis XIV., had married (in 1632) Margaret, the sister of Charles III., Richelieu gained a firm footing in the country, and kept the strong places of Lorraine in the name of France. Thus Charles III. became an implacable enemy of the Bourbons.

"Charles III.," says Hormayr, "was always without money, mostly without a country, and very often without an army"; yet he generally succeeded in assembling some troops under his banner, which he then sold to friend or foe, in the manner of the old Italian condottieri. He was, at one time, a fanatical Papist, causing all the Protestants to be strung up to the nearest tree, and prohibiting even their burial; and at other times, the most intimate friend and ally of the Huguenots and of the Fronde. He helped the Emperor to gain the victory of Nördlingen. He was at different times a prisoner of the French and of the Spaniards. His life was a course of the most profligate debauchery; and, after having put away his cousin Nicolæa, his legitimate wife, he lived in open bigamy with the Princess Cantacroy; for which he was outlawed and excommunicated by the secular and spiritual courts, but became immediately after the leader of an "Army of Faith." He was a candidate for the episcopal dignity, for the dukedom of Mantua, for the cardinal's purple, nay, even for the papal see; and, to crown all, for the Imperial throne of the Holy Roman Empire. Yet, notwithstanding all these lofty aspirations, he was, in the Peace of Westphalia, neither mentioned as a member of the Empire, nor as an ally; nor was he even represented at the negotiations.

His misfortune befell him in the year 1670, when Louis XIV. expelled him from his capital Nancy, and kept Lorraine in his own hands. Charles III. died in exile at Allebach near Birkenfeld, in 1675, at the age of

seventy-one. Leaving no children acknowledged as legitimate, he was succeeded by the son of his younger brother Francis, Charles IV.

Francis, through the interest of France, had been made Cardinal of Lorraine in 1627. Claudia, the sister of the before-mentioned Nicolæa, was to have been married to Gaston of Orleans before he was wedded to Margaret, and she was then to have become the heiress of Lorraine. Francis, however, desirous to propagate the line of his house, cast aside the cardinal's hat, and concluded a clandestine marriage with Claudia, who loved him. But their secret was discovered, and the pair were kept at Nancy by the commandant the Marshal de la Force, as separate prisoners. Claudia then, dressed as a page, succeeded in getting access to her husband; and both of them, disguised as peasants, escaped together from the town. By this marriage, which afterwards received the sanction of the Pope, the House of Lorraine was perpetuated. Francis died in the year 1670. His son Charles IV., having been unable after the death of his uncle Charles III. to put himself in possession of Lorraine, came to try his fortune at Vienna. After his marriage with the Queen-dowager Eleanor of Poland, he established with her his court at Innsbruck. Five years after his marriage, he became the saviour of Vienna.

The first alarm of the forays of the invading Tartars and Spahis who preceded the main army of the Grand Vizier, reached Vienna on the 7th of July, 1683. On the same day, Caprara induced the Emperor Leopold to leave Vienna. The flight was effected in the evening at ten o'clock; the Emperor being accompanied by the Empress, who was then *enceinte*, and who carried in her arms the Prince Joseph (afterwards Joseph I.), a child of five years. The privy councillors and all the court followed. The Emperor and Empress wept as they took leave of the burgomaster Von Liebenberg. Their route went across

the bridge of the Danube to Linz on the left bank of that river. The Imperial carriages were accompanied by 200 horse. Some time after, the Imperial treasury also was conveyed by the Danube to Linz. At the first night-quarters at Korn-Neuburg, where the Imperial family separated from their luggage, they were scarcely able, in the indescribable confusion, even to procure eggs for appeasing the pangs of hunger. They already saw the monastery of the Camaldulenses on the Kahlenberg in flames. On the following day, the flight proceeded higher up the Danube, to Krems. It was a terrible day: hordes of Tartars infested by their forays the country far and near; and groups of exasperated and despairing peasants shouted into the carriage of the Emperor the grossest insults and the most atrocious threats.

On the 8th of July, in the morning, the Duke of Lorraine, with the Imperial cavalry, entered Vienna and encamped and entrenched himself on two islets of the Danube, and in some other places in the suburb called Leopoldstadt. But all these positions were held only until the 17th. The Janissaries drove the duke behind the Danube; and on Sunday, 18th of July, the Turks were already pitching their batteries in the Leopoldstadt, and restoring the bridge over the Danube, which had been broken down.

The defence within the city was directed by Ernest Rüdiger, Count of Starhemberg, general of artillery and governor of Vienna; who was most ably seconded by the commandant of the town, the French Count de Souches, the brave defender of Brünn. Starhemberg was a pupil of Montecuculi.

The means of defence were most wretched. The garrison consisted of the town-guard under Colonel Obizzi, and 1000 men, troops of the line. During the few days respite which the Turks left to the besieged, Rüdiger Starhemberg made almost superhuman exertions in repair-

ing the walls, and gathering ammunition and supplies from the neighbourhood. On Monday, the 12th of July, the main body of the Turkish force arrived. The Grand Vizier established his head-quarters at the Favorita; a villa of the Empress Dowager, where now the Augarten, one of the most popular places of resort of the gay Viennese, is situated. At nightfall, the whole horizon round Vienna was flashing with columns and masses of fire; the whole country, from the Leitha to Baden and from Mödling as far as the Kahlenberg, being one vast sheet of flame. On the morning of the 13th, the Spahis were already swarming in a large semicircle round the town, from the hills of the Vienna Wood to the Danube. About midday, a strong column advanced to the suburbs; and Starhemberg ordered a sharp fire to be directed against them, at the same time giving the signal for setting fire to the suburbs. On the evening of this terrible day, the Imperial infantry, consisting of from 12,000 to 14,000 men, just in the nick of time, entered Vienna. To these we must add 800 burghers, traders, &c., divided into regular companies; and 15,000 journeymen, apprentices, and people out of work, who were under arms, and mounted guard.

More than 65,000 people had left Vienna. The Turks now terribly ravaged the country about; their light cavalry extended their forays as far as the Enns. It is calculated that, during the two months that the siege lasted, 87,000 people were carried away by them into captivity; among them, 26,000 women and young girls, 200 ladies of the first noble houses, and 50,000 youths. The morning sun of the 14th July illumined the endless line of the Turkish tents, the number of which was stated to be 25,000. Most conspicuous among them was the large green pavilion of the Grand Vizier, near St. Ulric, occupying the very spot from whence the batteries of Count Matthias Thurn had played upon the Hofburg. This huge tent was hung with magnificent tapestry, and the

floor covered with most costly carpets; it was divided into larger and smaller apartments, for rest, state, prayer, and for councils of war; there were fountains, baths, small gardens, rare animals; and it glittered with velvet, gold, and silver, priceless pearls from the depths of the sea, and with precious stones from the bowels of the earth to the value of more than 1,000,000 florins. By the side of this gorgeous tent of the Grand Vizier, there were the no less magnificent ones of the Aga of the Janissaries; of the Pashas of Hungary, of Rumelia, and of some Asiatic and Egyptian provinces; of the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia; of Prince Michael Apaffy of Transylvania; and of the Hungarian Count Tököly.

The Turkish shells were principally aimed at the Hofburg, the steeple of St. Stephen's, and the houses from the Kärnthnerthor (Carinthia Gate) to the Mölker and Scotch bastions. The hottest fight was carried on near what is now the Volksgarten, and from the Burgthor to the Schottenthor. The Turks were not, however, at that time, particularly skilled in gunnery, or in conducting a siege *secundum artem;* but their strength lay in their knowing how to place mines, which they did with wonderful effect. The strongest walls were breached by their explosions, and the whole city was girded with a circle of ruins. But the Viennese repelled every attack of the Moslems, and repaired by day and night the damaged fortifications. Three times a day and twice every night, Starhemberg went the round of the whole of the city, of the mines, of the walls, of the hospitals, of the arsenal, of the bakers' shops. After being wounded in the head and arm, and, at a later period of the siege, seized with the epidemic dysentery, he caused himself to be carried round the fortifications. He was very zealously supported by the Bishop of Neustadt, Count Leopold Kollonitsch, in taking care of the wounded. Such was the energy displayed by this prelate, that the Grand Vizier threatened to have his head

cut off if he caught him. By Starhemberg's order all the bells were kept silent; those of St. Stephen alone were allowed to be tolled for the fire signals.

On the 4th of September, the Turks sprung a large mine near the bastion of the Hofburg; and on the 6th, 7th, and 8th, some more in the same quarter. The distress in the beleaguered city rose to an awful pitch. The terrible toil, aggravated by hunger, had so sadly worn out the officers and soldiers, that Starhemberg had to threaten with punishment of death all those who should allow themselves to be overcome with sleep whilst on duty. In this extremity, relief came at last. John Sobiesky, King of Poland, and the princes of the Empire, responding to the call for help, arrived at the same time. The aid of Sobiesky was another of those miracles to which the Habsburg Emperors in various instances owed their safety. The very well informed "Mercure Historique," in the December number of 1686, states, "Had not the King of France committed the great blunder of refusing to the Marquis d'Arquien, the father-in-law of the King of Poland, the brevet as *Duc* and *Pair*, the Queen of Poland (the Venus who completely ruled the Polish Mars) would never have induced her husband, as she has done, to march to the relief of Vienna." The most warlike of the electors, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, stayed away; those of Saxony and Bavaria arrived, and with them the Würtemberg and Franconian contingents under Count Waldeck. These were joined by some Imperial regiments raised in all haste in Bohemia. The Polish army, amounting to 26,000 men, approached from Olmütz; the Bavarians, 11,300 strong, advanced from Krems, united with the Saxons, who, numbering 11,400, had marched by Prague, and with the 8,400 men of the contingent of the Franconian Circle, who had come by Passau: the relieving army crossed, on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of September, the Danube, near Tuln, which the Grand Vizier unaccountably

had left unguarded; and, on the evening of the 10th, it united with the 27,000 Austrians under Duke Charles of Lorraine. The combined Christian army numbered 84,800 men; 38,700 infantry, and 46,100 horse, with 186 cannons. At a review which the Grand Vizier held on the 7th September, after having been apprised of the approach of the relieving army, his troops still amounted to 168,000 men; the loss of the Turks before Vienna, from the 12th July to the 7th September, having been no less than 50,000 men. Yet, as their numbers were still superior to those of the Christians, they took no precautions against a surprise from the hills, and even continued to direct their main efforts against the beleaguered city. This supercilious security led to the complete victory of the Christians.

On the 11th of September, in the forenoon, the allied armies reached the height of the Kahlenberg. John Sobiesky—at that time a man of forty-six, of middling height but as strong and sinewy as he was stout, of martial appearance, of lively speech and gesture, with black hair and beard, and with his head half-shorn (according to the custom of his country)—stepped forth with the Duke of Lorraine to the edge of the hill. They distinctly heard the roaring cannon of the Turks, which made the earth shake. The Imperial city lay before them immersed in a sea of dust, fire, and smoke. The almost superhuman bravery of the besieged had succeeded with great difficulty in just keeping the two principal bastions; or rather their ruins, as the Turks had blown them up in the course of the last few days. Starhemberg had caused these bastions to be walled up in all haste, and had made trench after trench; and the streets most exposed to the attack were by his orders barricaded by chains, cross walls, and by the iron gratings torn from the windows.

At nightfall, a horseman, who had swum across the Danube, arrived at the Christian camp with a note from Starhemberg to the duke, containing the words "No more

time to be lost, Monseigneur; for heaven's sake! no more time to be lost!" In the meanwhile a number of rockets in quick succession rose from the steeple of St. Stephen, as a signal that the town was at its last extremity; to which the King of Poland answered by throwing up a bouquet of rockets, and by briskly firing three cannon-shots one after the other. Even before night had fairly set in, the Viennese, to their intense joy, saw the Christian army moving on the crest of the hills. Its thousand fires shone through the dusk like so many stars of joy and hope for the besieged. After two months of terror and distress, the people embraced each other with tears in their eyes, and, hastening into the churches, offered thanksgivings to God for their deliverance.

With the first rays of the morning sun of the 12th of September, 1683, a Sunday, the columns of the Christian army poured down from the wooded heights of the Kahlenberg hills. Five cannon-shots gave the signal for battle. The fire of the musketry began to play at seven in the morning. On the extreme left wing, stood the Duke of Lorraine with his Austrians. The commanders under him were Prince Charles Theodoric Otto of Salm, afterwards the premier of Joseph I.; Count Æneas Sylvius Caprara, until then military governor of Hungary; also, the afterwards very celebrated Margrave Louis of Baden, and the still more celebrated Prince Eugene of Savoy, at that time a youth of twenty; and, besides them, thirty princes of the greater and smaller princely houses of the Empire. The Turks on their right wing made a very good stand against Lorraine; who for seven weary hours had to bear the brunt of the battle. At last, in the afternoon, at two o'clock, the Elector John George III. of Saxony, who with the Bavarians and the other princes of the Empire formed the centre, relieved the Austrians by suddenly attacking the Turks in the flank. Until then, neither the centre nor the right wing,

which was commanded by Sobiesky, had been fairly brought into the action. About the same hour, the Poles at last likewise broke forth from the woods near Dornbach, and pressed upon the centre and left wing of the enemy. They several times repeated their impetuous attack; but they were unable to break through the deep masses of the Turks. The Poles were startled; their line wavered, and one regiment of lancers took to flight, carrying with it all those behind. This was the crisis of the battle. The Duke of Lorraine, descrying the danger,—it was now half-past four o'clock,—ordered a general attack on the right wing of the Turks; rolled it up towards the middle; and at last took a large battery near Döbling, which had until then checked his advance. The Poles were thus relieved again. Sobiesky, who, with his own hand had cut down several Turks and captured a pasha's standard, renewed on his side the attack; and he, too, pushed the enemy back to his camp. The Austrians, under the Margrave Louis of Baden, now advanced as far as the counterscarp near the Schottenthor. Here Starhemberg came out to them, and concerted with them a vigorous sally against the approaches of the Turks.

The infidels had quietly continued battering the town, just as they had done during the last sixty days of the siege. Now at length they turned round their cannon against the relieving army. In vain the Grand Vizier near St. Ulrich still kept his wild hosts together. Soon after, their ranks broke in the direst confusion. At six o'clock, the battle was decided in favour of the Christians. The Turks left their camp to the Poles; and fled across the hills, without stopping, as far as Raab. The Polish lancers and the Imperial dragoons pursued them for some time longer; but the darkness of night and extreme exhaustion soon made them desist. The Duke of Lorraine sent his Adjutant-general Count Francis Charles Auersperg with the news of victory to the Emperor. Not less

than 370 cannon, 5000 heavily laden camels, the large red flag of the Grand Vizier,—the sacred green flag of the Prophet was saved,—a great number of standards and pashas' horsetails, 15,000 tents, many of them with the meat still laid on the table and the bread in the ovens, fell into the hands of the conquerors. "I have become," wrote Sobiesky to his wife, "the heir of the Grand Vizier." He had for his share of the booty the tent of Kara Mustapha, with a treasure of 2,000,000 florins in gold, and nearly 600 sacks filled with piastres; his arms, studded with gold and precious stones; his magnificently caparisoned favourite horse; and his secret chancellerie, which contained the correspondence with the Hungarian malcontents and with France. The latter was a most important capture, of which a good use was made. To ruin France in the public opinion, it was circulated throughout all the empires of Christendom, to show how the Most Christian King had been caught in open alliance with the arch-enemy of Christ. The heroic Bishop Kollonitsch at once liberated the captive Christian children who were found in the camp of the Turks. The stores of the Turks were so immense, that the plundering soldiers, on the day after the battle, only took the money and the jewels, leaving the rest to the poor people of Vienna. There were found here, penned up within a very narrow space, nearly 20,000 buffaloes, bullocks, camels, and mules, and about 10,000 sheep; which, together with the captive Turks, were led away in droves; 100,000 quarters of corn; whole storehouses of flour, coffee, sugar, honey, oil, rice, potted butter, linen, cotton, leather, fur, sheet iron; and an amount of ammunition and warlike stores beyond all belief. Many landlords of the suburbs, when coming out from the city, were scarcely able, in the general devastation and in the labyrinth of trenches and batteries, to make out the spot on which their houses had stood; but they found their court-yards and their cellars and vaults so crammed full with goods of every description, as to be able

to rebuild their mansions more handsomely than they had been before. From the immense quantity of coffee which was found among the booty, originated the fondness of the Viennese for that beverage, which is still their favourite one. The licence for the first coffee-house in Vienna was granted in the year 1683 to a Pole, Kollschützky*, who had done great service to the Duke of Lorraine as spy during the siege.

The night after the battle, Sobiesky slept in the captured tent of the Grand Vizier. Early next morning, Starhemberg fetched him to the city. The procession entered by the Stubenthor. On the right of the king rode his son Jacob Sobiesky and the Elector of Bavaria; and the cavalcade comprised, besides Starhemberg, the German princes, the grand dignitaries of the crown of Poland, and the different generals and commanders. No one in the joy of their hearts thought of etiquette and precedence. In front of the procession, Kara Mustapha's horse was led; and the magnificent red main flag of the Grand Vizier's tent, thickly embroidered with gold, the pashas' horsetails, and the standards were also carried. The procession passed by St. Stephen's to the church of the Augustine Friars, which is that of the court. Here Sobiesky heard mass in the Loretto Chapel. At its conclusion, quick and impetuous as he was, he stepped forth to the high altar and began chanting the *Te Deum*, in which the Poles and the clergy joined. For the first time for two months, all the bells of Vienna rang a merry peel.

The king and the princes now stepped out of the church deeply affected, and so completely overcome with the joy of victory, that the king embraced all who came in his way. But the enthusiastic importunities of the people who crowded round him, eager to kiss his hand, the hem of his garment, his boots, or even his stirrups, at last be-

* The Viennese used to call him Bruder Herz (my hearty).

came almost dangerous. Having with difficulty reached Starhemberg's residence, the king, the princes, and the generals sat down to a magnificent banquet. In the evening Sobiesky returned to the army, which had been led from the plague-infected Turkish camp to the Schwechat. The Duke of Lorraine and Starhemberg, on the other hand, hastened to Nussdorf to receive the Emperor.

Leopold, when, on the 7th of September, in his first fright, he left Vienna, took the route to Linz. There he was met by a courier who brought the false intelligence that the Turks had advanced by the Vienna Forest, and were marching upon Linz. Upon this, the head of the Holy Roman Empire fled further on to Passau, where positive intelligence reached him of the Turks having stopped before Vienna. At Passau he received, on the 29th of July, the Elector Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria; who on the same day went on to the army. On the 7th of August, news came from Sobiesky that he was on his march. On the 9th, Leopold received the Prince of Anhalt, as ambassador of the "Great Elector," to treat about the succour which, as is well known, Brandenburg at that time *did not send.* Leopold then sowed the seeds for the Silesian wars, by which Prussia afterwards established herself as a European power. He refused to give up the principalities of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau; which, after the death of the last Piast duke in 1675, ought, according to previous treaties, to have fallen to the share of Brandenburg; and, moreover, the principalities of Jägerndorf, taken in 1623, during the Thirty Years' War, from the outlawed Margrave of Brandenburg John George. It was not until some time after, that Frederic William consented to send against the arch-enemy an auxiliary force of 7000 men, who were of signal service at the taking of Buda. On the 11th of August, two couriers were despatched to Dresden and Berlin to hasten the march of the troops. On the 17th, the Prince of Waldeck an-

nounced the departure of the contingent from Franconia, and reviewed them on the 21st. On the 25th of August, the Emperor, with the Empress and all his privy councillors, set out again from Passau to Linz, where, on the 13th of September, the day after the battle, he received the news of the great victory. He now embarked from Linz on the Danube for Vienna, where he arrived in the forenoon of the 14th.

Leopold rode through the Turkish camp, amidst the ringing of all the bells and the discharge of artillery; and received, at that same gate through which he had fled on the night of the 7th of July, the keys of the heroically defended city from the hands of the magistracy. At St. Stephen's, he heard Bishop Kollonitsch sing the *Te Deum*. After which he dined with the Electors of Saxony and of Bavaria; the latter of whom afterwards became his son-in-law.

On the 15th of September, the celebrated meeting of Leopold with Sobiesky took place in the camp near the river Schwechat. There was a long deliberation as to the manner of complimenting the king without any derogation to the dignity of his Imperial Majesty. Leopold having asked Duke Charles of Lorraine "How shall I receive him?" the duke replied, "How, but with open arms, your Majesty! for he has saved the Empire!" At last it was determined that the meeting should be on horseback. Leopold saluted the saviour of Vienna; but behaved with chilling coldness. He remained stiffly sitting in the saddle; nor did he even lift his hat when Prince Jacob Sobiesky kissed his hand, and when the Polish nobles of the first houses were presented to him. With the same haughtiness and coldness, he behaved towards the German princes; and the whole proceedings having been brought to an end with the most rigid formality, his Majesty rode home as stiffly as he had come. On the 19th, Leopold returned to

Linz; from whence he came back to Vienna only in August, 1684, after the Hofburg was completely restored.

Sobiesky, revolted by the stolid ingratitude of the Emperor, wrote to his queen: "It really is as though we were people infected with the plague, whom all the world shuns; whereas previous to the battle my tents, which, God be praised, are spacious enough, were scarcely able to contain the number of visitors. It is not the least strange among the many strange things which have happened to us here, that we do not know what is to become of us. It seems to me that it would have been only right to ask me in what manner I might intend to continue the war. But I am no longer applied to. Everybody is discouraged, and all wish we had never assisted the Emperor at all, and this haughty race had perished never to rise any more." The Elector of Saxony, not less exasperated than Sobiesky, started off even before the Emperor's departure, and with him his troops; the contingent of the Empire only, which the princes were obliged to furnish, remained behind.

Starhemberg, on the other hand, was loaded with favours. He became a general-field-marshal and a minister of state, and received permission to charge his family coat of arms with the steeple of St. Stephen, a wall, and the letter L. (the initial of Leopold); besides which, he was presented with a mansion, called Freihaus, in the suburb of Wieden, a costly ring, and 100,000 crowns. From Madrid, the Golden Fleece was sent to him; and the Pope expressed his thanks to him in a special brief.

Sobiesky and Lorraine undertook to continue the war against the Turks in Hungary. They gained a victory near Barkan, on the 10th of October; then, only when all danger was over, Sobiesky returned to his own kingdom. On the 2nd of September, 1686, Lorraine took Buda, which had remained in the possession of the Turks ever since Soleyman's expedition against Vienna in 1529; and

on the 12th of August, 1687, the duke gained the great battle of Mohacz.

We now return to the Hungarian insurrection of Count Tököly. Immediately after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna, the magnates who had sided with the count, tried to make their peace with the Emperor. The Imperial Government, however, acted on the old maxim, "*Divide et impera.*" On the 18th of October, an Imperial special order was issued to confiscate the estates of all those Hungarians who had taken part against the Emperor; and to employ their revenues towards the conduct of the war. John Antony, the son of the beheaded Ban Peter Zriny, who had been captured some weeks before, was placed in close confinement at Passau; but his servants and lacqueys were released. He is said to have remained a prisoner at Kuffstein in the Tyrol for twenty years, during the whole of which time he had not spoken a word; the love of the daughter of his jailor affording to him the only solace in his long and dreary captivity. With him the race of the Zrinys became extinct; his mother, of the house of Frangipani, had died mad soon after the execution of her husband.

The Emperor again established a special commission on the 6th of November, 1683, which was presided over by the Bohemian chancellor Count Francis Ulric Kinsky, and by Baron Abele. Tököly's envoys were referred to Sobiesky as mediator. When the king interceded for him; and especially when he exerted himself to obtain for Tököly the title of prince, with the hereditary grant of some Hungarian countries; Leopold requested the mediator to dissuade his client from entertaining any such hope, and to urge him to make his unconditional submission. The special commission, on the other hand, did its utmost to lull the Hungarians into a false security. The special mandate ordering the confiscation of estates was rescinded, "as his Majesty had not yet formed a final resolution;"

and on the 12th January, 1684, Leopold granted a general amnesty to all those who, until the end of February, would abjure every connection with the rebellion and the unchristian alliance with the Turks; on which condition they should recover their former honours and privileges, "cum restitutione bonorum tam mobilium quam immobilium *adhuc extantium.*" Those parts of the estates which were already given away to informers, &c., were thus to remain in possession of their new owners. Duke Charles of Lorraine, who had the absolute command of the army in Hungary, was the bearer of this general amnesty. The army, paid with money from the Pope* and from Spain, amounted to 70,000 men.

There were, at that time, a great number of volunteers serving in the Austrian army; Frenchmen of very good houses,—in 1686, a Comte de Crequy; and not less than 400 Spaniards,—among them a Duke Vejar, "to whom his mother had given a cheque for 40,000 pistoles on Vienna." In 1686, Lord Cutts was, at the taking of Buda, aide-de-camp to the Duke of Lorraine; and in 1687 also, the Marquess of Fitzjames, afterwards Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II. of England, entered the Imperial army as volunteer.

The following Hungarian lords appeared before the Imperial commissariats to make their submission: one of the Bathianys, one of the Zobors, George Erdödy, young Nadasdy, young Drascowitch, one of the Zichys, Count Illeshazy, Count Adam Kollonitsch, with his father and several other magnates; besides the cities of Pressburg, Oedenburg, and others. Tököly now concluded a new alliance with the Turks. The malcontents even talked of a repetition of the Sicilian Vespers. There happened, at that time, another of those instances of the almost

* The Holy Father, besides considerable sums in bills of exchange, granted a third of all the ecclesiastical revenues.

miraculous luck of the House of Habsburg. A Lieutenant Fink von Finkenstein at Buda had fallen in love with a Turkish slave, who became his booty at the taking of that city in 1686. Wishing to fly with her to Turkey, he wrote to the Pasha of Stuhlweissenburg, that for a certain sum of money he would give up to him Buda and Pesth. The pasha handed the letter to one of his people; who interpreted to him its contents in the presence of a Christian slave who happened to light the fire in the apartment. The Christian slave found means to report the affair to the Emperor at Vienna; the officer was arrested, confessed everything, and was beheaded. Austria thus again had a very narrow escape from most imminent danger.

In vain Tököly tried to induce the Croats to join the insurrection of the Hungarians; then, as in 1848, the Croats remained faithful to the Emperor. After the taking of Buda in 1686, Tököly retired to Munkats; and when he went to Constantinople, his heroic wife kept that fortress for three years against the besiegers.

Whilst fortune thus smiled on the Emperor, "the Spanish device" was brought to its ultimate fulfilment. In 1687, even before the great victory of Mohacz was gained, the "bloody assize of Eperies" was opened (5th of March). The principal instrument of the revenge of Austria against the malcontent Hungarians was the Neapolitan Count Anthony Caraffa, formerly a Maltese knight, a cousin of the Papal Nuncio Cardinal Caraffa, through whose interest he had been appointed chamberlain to the Emperor. In 1685, he was still a colonel; in 1686, he was made general commander-in-chief of the army in Hungary, a privy councillor, and a member of the Aulic Council of War. He called himself "Attila, the scourge of God for the Hungarians." He was the man who most strenuously urged at Vienna the adoption of a system of terror, to subdue the fierce Hungarians at the impending Diet of

Pressburg, and to enrich the Imperial exchequer by contributions and confiscations; in carrying out which he certainly did not forget his own interest. He was one of the most covetous and most bloodthirsty of men. "If," he once said, "I were conscious of having within my body one drop of blood that was friendly to the Hungarians, *I would rather at once bleed myself to death.*" The cabinet adopted his counsels; several Jesuits, the cunning Peritzhof and the cruel Kellio, were given as adjuncts to Caraffa, forthwith to institute the most severe proceedings against all those who had taken part with Tököly, or who had only incurred the suspicion of having done so, or had otherwise rendered themselves obnoxious, *or were known to be rich.* Again the most infamous denunciations took place. As none of the prisoners confessed on his own accord, tortures of unheard-of cruelty were employed to force confessions from the victims. Besides the usual stretching on the rack, the Spanish boots, and burning with lighted wax-tapers under the arm-pits, a new kind of torment was invented—a shower of burning pitch and tar being poured on the victims suspended in the air; moreover, red-hot iron pins and wires driven in under their fingers and toe nails, and into the most sensitive parts of their bodies. Whilst they were thus tortured, Caraffa before their eyes enjoyed himself with women, and played at dice; he also extorted large sums of money from them, as *e. g.* 10,000 florins from John Roth of Kyralyfalva. Some twenty and odd noble Hungarians were beheaded and quartered, and numbers of others put in chains; even Roman Catholics were proceeded against, if they were *rich and popular.* No one felt any longer secure in Hungary. The wives, sisters, and friends of the unfortunate prisoners hastened to Vienna to complain; but, notwithstanding the counter-orders which they obtained, Caraffa continued his cruel proceedings. Being tired at last of the frequency of the intercessions, he exhibited an Imperial autograph note, in which it was stated, "that, as the

door of the Imperial mercy could not be well shut from the unfortunate petitioners, he, Caraffa, should take no heed whatever of any recommendations, counter-orders, and reprieves; but, without repining and mercy, go on working for the '*great object.*'" When the Hungarians asked that they might be permitted to defend themselves, Caraffa replied, "*that their trial should be proceeded with after their execution.*"

Austria obtained that "great object," at the Diet of Pressburg. The Hungarians, to get rid of the terrible assize of Eperies, acquiesced in having the crown of their ancient elective monarchy made hereditary in the male line of the House of Austria; and likewise resigned the right of "insurrection," granted to them by the Golden Bull of King Andrew, in 1222. In November, 1687, the fell tribunal of Eperies, after having run its bloody race for nine months, was dissolved; and Caraffa was recalled some time after to Vienna.*

Joseph I., Leopold's son, was thereupon crowned, on the 9th of December, 1687, as the first hereditary King of Hungary.

On the 14th of January, 1688, Helena Tököly was obliged to surrender Munkats. Her children were taken from her. The young Prince Ragoczy, the same who in 1700 headed the insurrection in Hungary, was sent to Bohemia. Her daughter was taken to a convent in Vienna, and afterwards married Count Aspermont. The Emperor declaring himself to be the guardian of both the son and the daughter, attempts were made to convert the wards to the religion of their august guardian. Count

* He was there rewarded with the Golden Fleece; but was detested even by the Austrians. He fell into a decline, went mad, continually howling "Eperies, Eperies;" and died five years after, on the anniversary of the opening of the bloody assize. He was to have gone as ambassador to Rome. Having no direct heir, he was succeeded in his large property by his nephew Ferdinand Charles; but with the son of the latter the German branch of the house of Caraffa became extinct.

Emeric's request for permission to write to his wife was refused, "as he was civilly defunct." Helena was kept a prisoner in Vienna until 1691; and then exchanged for General Donatus Häussler, Caraffa's successor, who had been captured by the Hungarians. Three years after, in 1694, Count Emeric Tököly, having been deserted at Passarowitz by his people, fell into the hands of the Turks, with whom he remained to his death. He died at Nicomedia in 1705, the last of his race. Helena had preceded him to the grave two years before.

The war against the Turks was still successfully continued after the victory of Mohacz. On the 10th of October, 1688, they lost even Belgrade, the key of Hungary. But in 1690, the fortune of war turned; Belgrade was re-conquered by the Moslems, and in the west a most perilous war was waged against France. At that time, the idea was first mooted which in our days has been brought to maturity in the Austrian cabinet—*the idea of incorporating Hungary with the German Empire* in the same manner as Bohemia had been before. The "*Lettres Historiques*," written completely in the Austrian interest, most strongly recommended (in its June number of 1692) this idea. And indeed the greatest advantage would then, as now, have accrued from such a measure to Austria, but by no means to Germany; as the whole Empire might have been summoned to arms, and its resources been made available, as often as the malcontents in Hungary had taken it into their heads to rise against her Austrian rulers.

There was, however, at that time, no chance of realising the plan. On the other hand, the danger from the Turks was again dispelled by Prince Eugene of Savoy, the greatest hero that Austria has ever had. He gained, in 1697, the decisive victory of Zentha. In 1699, the veteran Count Oettingen, at that time in his seventy-first year, concluded the Peace of Carlowitz; and thus at length an end was definitively put to the Turkish war, after it had lasted

for sixteen years. The whole of Hungary with Transylvania, except Temeswar and Belgrade, returned under Christian rule.

Yet scarcely had the war of the Spanish Succession broken out, when the younger Prince Francis Leopold Ragoczy again raised the standard of insurrection. The Emperor imputed to him a plan of seizing himself and the whole of the Imperial family at a review to be held at Vienna of 6000 men, whom Ragoczy had raised for him in Italy. On this suspicion, Leopold had the prince arrested at Wienerisch-Neustadt. But Ragoczy succeeded in making his escape; having bribed Captain Lehmann, who would have fled with him, but was arrested by his own corporal, and afterwards decapitated. Ragoczy's manifestos, which he circulated among all the kings and republics of the Christian world, contained, among others, the passage, "*Hungary to this hour longs with one accord for the return of the days when she was under Ottoman supremacy.*" The Hungarians now allied themselves with Bavaria and France; and once more extended their forays to the vicinity, even to the very suburbs of Vienna, where they made a display of the skins of the slain lions, tigers, and leopards of the Imperial menagerie, with which they caparisoned their horses. Again was Field-marshal Count Sibert Heister, the son of the old terrible Godfrey, authorised by Leopold "to adopt severe proceedings against the malcontents; to confiscate their goods and chattels; *and to bring the offenders before a drum-head court martial.*" Even as late as in the days of Leopold's successor, Joseph I., in 1706, the malcontents showed themselves before the gates of Vienna. Not until 1711,—when the war of the Spanish Succession was dragging on without a hope of a speedy settlement, and when everything was to be apprehended from Charles XII., staying at that time at Bender with the Turks, who were well aware of the financial straits of the court of Vienna,—the Peace of Szathmar, the last

with Hungary, was concluded, in which free exercise of religion was granted to the Hungarian Protestants. Ragoczy, refusing to accept the amnesty offered to him, then went to Poland; and died in 1735, at Constantinople.

Tranquillity now reigned in the country which, in the course of one century,—from 1605 to 1701,—had six times risen in arms* against the arbitrary and despotic rule of Austria. This peace lasted to the March revolution of 1848.

6. ACTIVE ENDEAVOURS OF THE JESUITS UNDER LEOPOLD.—THEIR SCHOOLS.—THE LIBRARIAN LAMBECK.—EDUCATION OF THE NOBLES.

NEXT to Ferdinand II., Leopold was the most strenuous patron of the Jesuits; who endowed him with the surname of "Leopoldus Magnus," an honour which they granted to no other German Emperor except Carolus Magnus. Leopold, their slave,—who made himself subservient to their designs, who wore their badges, who took their degrees, and in fact was their affiliated member,—was extolled by them as a model and an example to all the world; and they were never tired of heralding him forth with all the pompous fustian of their turgid oratory. On the other hand, their influence, blighting and paralysing every free action of the mind and intellect, reigned paramount, and was systematically kept up under Leopold; as well at court, as among the great noble families of Austria.

It is impossible to deny in the Jesuits a grand and truly wonderful consistency in the carrying out of their ultramontane designs. The order was rich, if not in great, yet in distinguished men. There was one head and a thousand arms. The fathers were cool, proud, and bold

* In the insurrections of Botskay, of the elder Ragoczy, of Bethlen Gabor, of Zriny and Nadasdy, of Tököly, and of the younger Ragoczy.

in the conception of their plans; and as consistent and tenacious as ancient Romans in realising them. All used but one language, all had but one will. The great object of the order was, "the government of the world by Catholicism." They made no secret of their conviction that the welfare of the people would be best provided for, if the accursed race of the seculars could be exterminated; and if then, after the union of secular and spiritual rule, the order were charged with the government of the world. This comprehensive design was supported by their iron discipline. All who would not yield unconditional obedience "like dead bodies," were imprisoned, and persecuted with ruthless cruelty.

The Jesuits, by means of this system, completely attained their purpose of enforcing absolute passive obedience and blind submission. The helm of the government completely fell into their hands, after they had once established themselves as confessors at the Imperial court and in the great noble families of the monarchy. Under Leopold, there were 250 of them in Vienna alone; and these priestly diplomatists were the most subtle managers of all the secret plots of the cabinet. With consummate skill they succeeded in intruding themselves into all the court and family intrigues. The ostensible instructions of the princely confessors indeed prescribed that they should refrain from every interference with political and family affairs, as well as from recommendations to offices and from extensive correspondence; but, at the same time, they received the secret injunction "that, although they might possess influence, they were to avoid the appearance of it, and to make a discreet use of their power." The reverend fathers were most clever match makers, especially where there was great wealth in the case; nor were they less expert as legacy hunters, reaping abundant harvests from the rich families affiliated to them. It is almost needless to add that they were the most enterprising

and indefatigable proselytisers. By all these means, they acquired unbounded influence and enormous riches.

The most powerful agency of the Jesuits, however, was education. They formed a race of pupils who, having been since their earliest youth, as it were, hermetically shut up, so as to remain untouched by the intellectual movements of all the rest of the world, had never afterwards occasion to pay any attention to secular learning; and who therefore were kept for life in the leading strings of the order. The pupils were completely entangled in the meshes of the subtle net in which Jesuit teaching had ensnared them. The end of their tuition, "to obliterate individuality," was fully attained. Individual character was replaced by the unflinching enthusiasm of the religious heroism of self-abnegation. It was the especial feature of Jesuit education, prominently to cultivate memory and formalism at the expense of independent thought and of unprejudiced and unbiassed moral feeling; a fixed circle of patenteed knowledge was drawn round whole generations, and traditionally promulgated from father to son and grandson. The compass of this cycle might be narrowed to accommodate itself to humbler capacities; but it was never allowed to be exceeded by any superior talent.

The course of study remained always the same, the instruction being imparted by the same class of teachers from the same text books; the strict formalism in the mode of instruction stamped upon it a measured and almost military uniformity and order. Emulation, vanity, and ostentation were favoured as powerful incentives; even the worst immorality was abetted, as forming a bond of secrecy. At the expense of free thought and of invention, memory, imitation, and controversial dialectics; and, at the expense of ideas and of practical knowledge, languages were cultivated. Great stress was laid in the Jesuit schools on the histrionic art, by which the pupils were

initiated in the secrets of refined deportment; and by which they acquired that polished address which, in the conflict with the courtly and pliant manners of men of the world trained in the French school, gave them an advantage which the Germans, who have ever been awkward in outward forms, could not have enjoyed before. In the colleges of the reverend fathers a theology and philosophy were taught, such as suited the old spiritual absolutism of the papal see, as well as the new political absolutism which raised its throne on the ruins of the old national constitutions. The casuistry of the Jesuits, much worse that that of the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages, has become proverbial; moral philosophy and mathematical science were admitted only as far as they might minister to the "object of the order." Whilst in this way the spirit of scientific inquiry was utterly paralysed, the fine arts, as patronised by the Jesuits, reflected in their vitiated taste the dry barrenness of a slavish devotion. Toleration was a thing completely unknown to the order. Every innovation was proscribed and anathematised. Cold-hearted, suspicious, unsocial, and inhospitable, the Jesuits spurned every compromise, however slight, with a heretic, and disdainfully repelled every attempt at a union between the hostile parties. The antagonism between the Papist and Protestant confessions was the vital condition of the existence of their order. Nothing, therefore, could serve their ends but the absolute surrender of the dissentients. Although the salutation of the order, written or spoken, was "*Pax vobiscum*," they were emphatically the ever-ready champions of the church militant of Rome. Carrying on the most unswerving great and petty warfare against every nationality, they tried to banish the German, Bohemian, and the Hungarian languages altogether; instead of which they introduced into the schools the Jesuit Latin. Instead of the native literatures, which might have recalled to the warm and generous enthusiasm

of youth the old heroic traditions of their country or the more recent great achievements of their countrymen, the fathers put into the hands of their pupils only their own curtailed editions of the classics, and their own historical text books, which were no longer a history of the nations, but merely a dry chronicle of the dynasties; and in which such princes alone were spoken of with praise who, like the imbecile William V. of Bavaria, the narrow-minded headstrong Ferdinand II., and their own beloved "Leopoldus Magnus," had made themselves the tools of their plans. Other princes, who had not shown themselves subservient to them, were either passed over with supercilious disdain, or contemptuously disposed of with a few words of disapprobation. It speaks volumes that since the Thirty Years' War to the days of Charles VI. and Maria Theresa, during which period the censorship was in their hands, not one great literary name, not one classical work, appeared in Austria, Bohemia, or Hungary; which before that time—even as early as in the days of Charles IV. and Matthias Corvinus—had produced a goodly contingent of men eminent in sciences and the fine arts. This deficiency becomes the more significant, if we remember that in Protestant countries, during the same period, Hugo Grotius, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Sir Isaac Newton, Boerhaave, and many others; and even in Papist France, men of European celebrity, Montesquieu and Bayle, made their appearance,

The rise of the Benedictine communities under Charles VI., in Austria, Bavaria, and Salzburg, first lowered the ascendency of the Jesuits. By these communities a new spirit of scientific and literary activity arose, which entered into competition with St. Maur and St. Vedast in France. With these latter communities the Chancellor Sinzendorf had opened a communication for the Austrian Benedictines at the Congress of Soissons; from that time, Sinzendorf never made his appearance in any congress without being accompanied by Austrian *savants*. Yet

the downfall of the Jesuits was completed only under Maria Theresa by Prince Kaunitz.

Notwithstanding all that the Jesuits did to engross entirely the education of the ruling classes in Austria, and even at the time when their schools were most flourishing, the want of genuine learning and unfettered science in Austria obliged many young nobles of the first houses—after having finished their studies at the colleges of the Jesuit fathers, and having served their diplomatic apprenticeship at the Supreme Aulic Council at Vienna, or in the chancellerie of the Austrian embassy at Ratisbon—to go through an additional course at the Protestant Universities of Wittemberg, Leipzig, and Helmstädt, especially also at those of Utrecht and Leyden; and, likewise, the true gallantry and polish of manners were to be acquired by the flower of the aristocratic youth of Austria, not among the stiff *grandezza* of the dull Hispaniolised Austrian court, but among the gay and brilliant circle which surrounded the "first gentleman" of that time, the royal master of Versailles.

7. THE VISIT OF PETER THE GREAT TO VIENNA IN 1698.

Sluggishness, ceremoniousness, and etiquette were the ruling goddesses at the court of Vienna. In the last years of Leopold, when that emperor, at all times pompous, became a more and more starched idol, the whole life at the Austrian court was as if cut out after the Chinese pattern. He shut himself up in his Olympic, self-contented, majestically wooden listlessness; and his last wife Eleonora of Neuburg, being a most fanatical devotee, felt scruples of conscience in accompanying her lord to the operas, which were a favourite resort of his.

But during the carnival and on extraordinary occasions, the magnificence of the Imperial court was displayed in

the grandest style. Such an occasion was afforded by the visit of Peter the Great in 1698. Peter was then returning from his great journey to Holland and England, and not having yet received the news of the rebellion of the Strelitz, which induced him to repair direct from Vienna to Moscow, he intended to go to Venice. He came in the suite of the Russian embassy which was sent to Vienna in the matter of the Peace of Carlowitz. The procession was headed by the three ambassadors—the Genevese Lefort, his Czaric Majesty's general and admiral, the governor of Novgorod; Peter's most confidential minister, the Boyard Theodore Golofkin, governor of Siberia and formerly ambassador to China; and Procopius Wortznicin, privy chancellor, formerly ambassador to Persia, Constantinople, Poland, and Venice. The suite of the embassy amounted to about 300 persons; among whom were forty volunteers of the first nobles of the Muscovite Empire, and seventy soldiers in green Russian uniforms. Peter, who was met some way off by the ministers and the Imperial carriages, entered Vienna on the 26th of June, at nine o'clock in the morning, *incognito*, by the Leopoldstadt, riding by the side of Lefort in the character of his *attaché*. A villa before the Carinthian gate (Kärnthnerthor) had been splendidly fitted up for his reception; the Emperor having fourteen days before removed to the neighbouring Imperial suburban palace, the Favorita, there to receive his northern guest. Peter inspected all the curiosities in and about Vienna, assuming every day a new disguise in order not to be recognised.

Three days after his arrival, on the 29th of June, O. S., the day of his patron saints St. Peter and St. Paul, the czar was received *incognito* at the Favorita by Leopold, in the presence of Counts Wallenstein and Dietrichstein, and of General Lefort; who acted as interpreter.* Peter

* This was one of Peter's crotchets. He understood and spoke both French

had been introduced by a secret postern through the garden, and by the back stairs, without any of the guards getting a sight of him. After the private conversation with the Emperor, Peter received the congratulations of all the nobility; and Leopold gave him a large concert of 170 performers, at which more than 300 ladies, with their cavaliers, besides the ministers and ambassadors, were present. A ball then followed, succeeded by magnificent fireworks, in which the letters V. P. Z. M. (Vivat Petrus Zaar Moscoviæ) were traced in brilliant jets of flame; the whole festivity being concluded with a supper of the style at that time called a "merenda."

On the following day there was a "tavern*", with a grand masquerade in the garden saloon of the Favorita, fitted up with the most costly furniture and mirrors, and lighted by an endless profusion of wax tapers in silver and gold candelabras. The Emperor personated the landlord, and the Empress the landlady of the tavern. The other masks appeared in the dress of the different European or Eastern nations; or as gipsies, gardeners, shepherds, peasants of different countries, quacks, brigands, waiters, &c. These characters were supported by the archdukes and archduchesses; and by the princes, then staying at Vienna, of Lorraine, Sulzbach, Deuxponts, Saxony, Hanover, Hesse, and Würtemberg-Montbeliard, besides the highest nobility of Austria. One illustrious guest was Prince Eugene, who had just before won the great battle of Zentha; he appeared in the character of waiter

and German well; but he considered it beneath his imperial dignity to make practical use of this accomplishment. He employed an interpreter, for ceremony's sake also, during his formal visits in Paris.—*Transl.*

* A "Wirthschaft." This sort of entertainment, at that time very much in vogue at Vienna, consisted in a fancy-dress evening party, at which the master and the mistress of the house, being installed at a buffet, with a staff of attendant masked waiters and waitresses, acted the part of "mine host and mine hostess."—*Transl.*

to the Imperial tavern-keeper. The Emperor and Empress, as "mine host and mine hostess," sat at the top of the table; the princes and princesses, counts and countesses, cavaliers and ladies, drew lots for their several places.

The company having, after supper, returned to the ball room, the czar, as a Frisian peasant, danced with indefatigable energy until daylight, all the while singing Russian ditties, and flinging his lady about in the true style of village swains. He was so taken with his partner, the beautiful Countess Johanna Thurn, who like him wore the Frisian costume, that he would scarcely allow her to leave his side. At table the Emperor, as "mine host," rose and went up to the Frisian peasant with a magnificent crystal cup, pledging to him the health of the Grand Czar of Muscovy. Peter then took the cup from Leopold's mouth, and said in very fair German, "I know the Czar of Muscovy very well, inside and outside; he is a friend of your Imperial Majesty, and an enemy of your enemies; and so heartily devoted to the Emperor, that, even if there were rank poison in this cup, he would forthwith without demur drink it at your command." With this he drained the tankard and returned it empty to the Emperor, who begged him to accept of it as a present; a request to which the czar at once acceded, assuring his host that as long as he lived, his heart and this glass should be at the service of his Majesty. Then turning to the King of the Romans, the czar said that, "His Majesty being still young, might bear more than his father the Emperor;" on the strength of which Peter pledged him in eight successive cups. After this feat, the czar embraced and kissed the king, lifted him up in his arms, and was in high glee.

Yet, notwithstanding these cajoleries and friendly demonstrations of the czar, old Hocher's "Roaring Remonstrance against the *Parification* of Muscovy" had not yet lost its force upon the Austrian cabinet. Even as late as in 1711, two years after the battle of Pultawa, the title of "Majesty"

was refused to Peter on his visit to Carlsbad. "And for this reason," the Theatrum Europæum says, "he kept his guard and even reinforced it: when, however, some time afterwards, the title of Majesty was granted him, everything changed for the better; his guard was sent by him to Saxony, and its place supplied by the requisite number of men from the garrison of Prague."

But to return to his visit to Vienna in 1698. The young czar tried to gain a footing by all the arts of flattery, and even by bribing the ministers. All were not, however, accessible to his flatteries and bribes. The czar sent to the privy councillor Count Strattmann a magnificent casket inlaid with lapis lazuli and turquoises. But Strattmann returned it unopened, with the remark, "Let the czar give it to some other minister who has better deserved of him;" hearing which, Peter broke out into a laugh, saying, "A thorough fool, but for once an honest one!"

Peter got on much better with the Jesuits; who understood and appreciated him. On St. Peter and St. Paul's day he went to the principal church of the Jesuits in a comic disguise which, however, deceived no one. Father Wolff* was just preaching on the Prince of the Apostles. As soon as he descried the czar, he, with a quick transition from heaven to earth, called out, "Here is a true Peter; to him Heaven has given the keys to unlock the chains of Christendom." Such language mightily pleased the shrewd and energetic autocrat who crushed all the old Russian aristocracy of birth, and created an entirely new one of office, which certainly has not made Russia free, but powerful and great. His predecessors had already looked upon themselves in the light of champions of the orthodox faith. Ivan Vasilewitch, the Terrible, introduced himself at the Diet of Ratisbon, in 1557, quite in the Eastern style, as "By God's grace, emperor and master of all the

* See Vol. I. p. 493.

Russias, powerful conqueror and ruler in Scythia and Sarmatia, *lord of Europe and Asia*, and of many countries and kingdoms which we have won, not only for ourselves, *but also for Christ the Lord*."

The Jesuit Father Wolff, from the moment that he had seen through the plans of the czar, became his inseparable companion. At Peter's request, he took him through all the Jesuit colleges, especially over the Office of the Province of Austria, where their Secret Chancellerie was; and explained to him all the institutions of the order of the colleges and offices, as also of their missions in heathen countries, which seemed exceedingly to interest the czar. This happened on the 21st of July. Cardinal von Kollonitsch celebrated a high mass at the church of the Office; after which the reverend fathers gave to the czar a splendid entertainment. Peter never rested until Wolff, the very afternoon after this banquet, sailed down the Danube with him to Pressburg, and gave him every information about Hungary, about the Greeks, and Ruthenes; and especially about the large projected immigration of the Armenians and Servians. On the 24th of July, Peter returned from Hungary, where he had visited several other places besides Pressburg. On the same day, Leopold once more called upon him "incognito," with only three ministers, and remained for half an hour. On the 26th of July, Peter paid to the Emperor the farewell visit. On the 28th, the presents were delivered at court, consisting of costly sabres, furs, Persian tapestry, a magnificent saddle, with housings and harness complete, besides other stuffs richly embroidered with gold and silver; and moreover some beautiful horses. On the 29th of July, 1698, the czar travelled with thirty horses by post to Cracow; and on the 4th of September, he arrived at Moscow, and crushed his rebellious Strelitzes.

8. PREPARATORY STEPS TO ENSURE THE SPANISH SUCCESSION. — THE QUEEN OF SPAIN POISONED BY MANSFELDT.—SUDDEN DEATH OF THE HEREDITARY PRINCE OF BAVARIA, THE APPOINTED HEIR TO THE SPANISH CROWN; AND THE WILL OF THE KING OF SPAIN.

THE most important events during the last years of Emperor Leopold's reign were the accession of a French prince to the Spanish throne, and the war undertaken on that account by Austria and the maritime powers against France.

A prospect of the Spanish inheritance had been opened to the Austrian branch of the House of Habsburg, ever since the state of health of Charles II. of Spain had precluded every hope of his having any issue by his second marriage, concluded in 1679. The Austrian aristocracy, forming the council of the Emperor, had not been behind hand in removing, in their own particular fashion, the obstacles opposed to the interests of Austria. Some of the darkest deeds of that occult policy of crime and violence, which had first been hatched in Italy, and had since been developed in all its bearings by the Spaniards and Jesuits, mark the history of Austria during the twelve months which preceded the vacancy of the Spanish throne. The evidence of Austria's guilt in this matter rests on the statement of generally well-informed witnesses of the highest character—the old honest Duchess of Orleans, a princess of German origin, and the equally honest old Duke of St. Simon; both of whom are the more entitled to credit as, in one of the most corrupt courts of that age, their integrity and purity of life have remained even above suspicion.

The last Habsburg in Spain was married to a French princess, who of course had it in her power completely to bias her weak-minded husband in favour of France. This queen of Charles II. was Mary Louisa of Orleans, stepdaughter of the Duchess of Orleans, the sister-in-law of

Louis XIV. and mother of the regent. Mary Louisa died on the 12th of February, 1689. Her step-mother most pointedly names the murderer—Henry Francis of Mansfeldt, ambassador of Austria to the court of Madrid; at that time a count, but immediately after his return from this mission raised to the dignity of a prince of the Holy Roman Empire.

The Duchess of Orleans, in a letter to her sister, dated 6th of December, 1721 (one year before her death), writes as follows: "*The Count of Mansfeldt has poisoned our poor dear queen as sure as I am writing here. They are not at all scrupulous in such matters in the Imperial council. Without the Emperor's knowing anything of it they send the people into the other world.*"

The second wife for Charles II. was a princess, of Neuburg, *sister of Leopold's Empress Eleonora.* Charles married her on the 4th of May, 1690.

As reprisals for the fate of the French princess, the incendiary expeditions of the French on the borders of the Rhine then followed. *The princess died on the* 12*th of February,* 1689*; on the* 2*nd of March,* 1689, *the castle of Heidelberg was blown up; on the* 31*st of May,* 1689, *Spires was burnt, and the ancient tombs of the Emperors were profaned and rifled; on the* 5*th of June,* 1689, *Worms was reduced to ashes.* The poor German people, of course, was not aware of the secret cause of the wrath of the French court. The Emperor's council, on the other hand, with the view to get the contingent of the Holy Roman Empire for the war against France, made use of the most remarkable hypocrisy to fan the smouldering embers of German ire. "His Imperial Majesty," it is said in the Vienna manifesto, "washes his hands *in innocency* of the consequences of this war; and declares before God and all the world, that he is not the cause of this quarrel, but that France has begun it for her own pleasure. Whatever successes the Lord of Hosts may vouchsafe to bestow on the arms of his

Imperial Majesty's enemies, the Emperor will always acknowledge the ways of Providence, which sometimes makes use of the scourge of an Attila *to chasten those whom the Lord loveth.*" Two days after the French princess had died in Madrid,—on the 14th of February, 1689,—the Diet at Ratisbon decreed war on the part of the Holy Roman Empire against France; a resolution to which the Imperial government gave its assent with the additional remark, "that the crown of France was to be considered not only as the enemy of the Empire, but of the whole of Christendom; *nay, even like unto the real Turk himself.*"

Yet not only against the enemies of his Cæsarean Majesty did the Imperial council give *carte blanche* to its officious tools; obsequious satellites were found who sacrificed in cold blood to the interest of the Emperor, as they called it, his truest friends, even his nearest relations. The new Queen of Spain, Maria Anna, had remembered her Wittelsbach descent; and, as she had for adviser Cardinal Portocarrero, who was alive to the patriotic duty of not allowing the Spanish dominions to be divided, their combined efforts succeeded in inducing Charles II. to appoint as successor to his entire monarchy *the nephew of Leopold,* the Hereditary Prince of Bavaria, at that time in his seventh year; a son of the "blue king," as the Turks called him; of the man who in six campaigns had sacrificed 32,000 Bavarians and 30,000,000 florins, to reconquer for Austria from the Turks — after an alienation of one century and a half — Buda, and even Belgrade, the key of Hungary.

The facts of the case fully bear out what the old elector states in his manifesto against Austria of the year 1704: "L'élevation de ce jeune prince éloignoit la guerre en épargnant aux maisons de France et d'Autriche le chagrin de voir un prince d'une maison rivale assis sur le thrône d'Espagne. La France embrassoit avec joie un expédient qui lui épargnoit une querelle longue et d'un

succès incertain. Toutes les puissances desinteressées y applaudissoient, *et l'Empereur qui s'y seroit opposé seul, s'y seroit opposé vainement.*" The young Prince of Bavaria assumed the title of Prince of the Asturias; and was taken from Munich to Brussels, whence he was immediately to have sailed to Madrid. Four-and-twenty Dutch vessels of war were lying ready for sea off Amsterdam, when the prince, who had not yet completed his seventh year, *died suddenly* on the 6th of February, 1699, at Brussels; as it was said, of the small-pox. Forty days after, his chief governor Count Tattenbach followed him to the grave. Neither of the bodies was examined. Maximilian Emanuel openly charged Austria with the murder. The Imperial council remained silent; but the Duke of St. Simon writes: "*No one doubted its having been done at the instigation of the cabinet of Vienna.*" The alliance thereupon concluded by Maximilian Emanuel with France shows clearly in what quarter he suspected his enemies. The words of his manifesto, which likewise allude to what had happened in Hungary and Spain, are very explicit: "L'étoile fatale à tous ceux qui font obstacle à la grandeur de la Maison d'Autriche, étoile qui depuis quarante ans *l'a si bien servie en Hongrie et en Espagne,* emporta le jeune prince mon fils. Il mourut d'une indisposition très legère et qui l'avoit attaqué plusieurs fois sans danger, avant qu'il fut destiné à porter la couronne d'Espagne."* Maximilian Emanuel, after having allied himself with the "real Turk," as the Imperial council styled Louis XIV., was put under the ban of the Empire, and his country taken from him. It was not until some time after, that Austria tried through Lamberty to throw the guilt on a court "which was nearer Brussels than Vienna was."

In the same year, 1699, when, according to the opinion of the Imperial council, the sudden death of the young

* Lamberty, Mémoires iii. 8.

Hereditary Prince of Bavaria had removed the main obstacle in the way of the Austrian claims to the Spanish inheritance, the Peace of Carlowitz was concluded with the Turks. This treaty was scarcely accomplished when the Imperial council reduced the army by discharging fifteen regiments. People in Vienna seemed to believe that they could do entirely without the war, and that the Imperial ministers were anxious to save money. But the war was inevitable, and the inheritance was lost for Austria because of her taking the field without being sufficiently prepared. Leopold had the very worst advisers in his council, and the few better ones, like the old Bohemian Chancellor Count Francis Ulrich Kinsky, were outvoted. Kinsky—the same who, in 1679, had concluded the Peace of Nimuegen, and in 1697 had stoutly opposed that of Ryswick—urged the Emperor, instead of reducing his army, rather to increase it; to send 20,000 men to Catalonia, 20,000 to Lombardy, and to keep 50,000 ready to march to the Rhine. But he spoke in vain.

Just as vain had been the representations of the ambassadors whom the Emperor kept in Spain. In March, 1696, the old experienced Count Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach had gone to Madrid to watch over the important interests which were involved in the events near at hand. He had repeatedly and urgently represented that it was indispensably requisite to send the young Archduke Charles (afterwards Emperor Charles VI.) with troops to Spain, there to gain a firm footing. The King of Spain had written in the same tone to Leopold; but the Imperial council invariably replied, "*that they had no money, and that, besides, they could only send heretics;* all sorts of people from Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, and Hanover, who would meet with but an unfavourable reception in the orthodox country of Spain, and there would be no prosperity or blessing in the cause." Old Count Harrach replied: "The troops of Prince George of Darmstadt were

all of them Protestants, and yet had been very well received in Spain. *The Spaniards were no longer so ignorant and bigoted; they knew very well that the Lutherans were men like themselves, and not demons with cloven feet, long tails, and sharp horns.*" But Harrach was not listened to, and asked for his recall.* He was replaced as ambassador by his son Aloysius Thomas Raymond Harrach, who made his appearance at Madrid in 1698. The spirit of the father did not rest on the son; who, without possessing the dignified and well-judged *grandezza* of his sire, was simply overbearing and haughty, and offended by his supercilious arrogance not only the Spanish grandees, but even the queen herself.

Prince Eugene urged in a letter addressed from Hungary to Count Sinzendorf, "that it was high time for the archduke to go to Spain." Just as pressing were the invitations of the Spanish ambassador at Vienna. The latter suggested that a report should be spread of the Archduke Charles' being ill. In the meanwhile he might travel *incognito* with two or three companions to Genoa, whence he would be conveyed by Spanish ships to Barcelona. But all these urgent suggestions and entreaties were wasted on the Emperor and the Empress. She declared that the prince—at that time, in 1700, in his sixteenth year—was of too delicate an age for such a journey. His Majesty, on the other hand, laid down the law, "that such an *incognito* and such a style of travelling was *contrary to etiquette, and quite beneath his station!*" Nor was it of any avail that the ambassador pointed out the robust constitution of his Highness, and reminded his august parents "that Spain had seen Emperors' sons, and even an Emperor in pilgrim's habit; and that many princes travelled *incognito* in order to get rid of the Spanish boots of etiquette!"

* He died in 1706 at Carlsbad.

Whilst Austria was procrastinating, France gained ground. Louis XIV. had sent *the right man to Madrid.* The Marquis d'Harcourt, his ambassador, was a courtier of the most insinuating and fascinating manners. On his arrival, he found every one hostile to France. After a few months, the court, the clergy, the nobility, and the people were all alike completely enchanted with him. His courtliness and graceful politeness contrasted very favourably with the dignified, but cold and stiff *grandezza* of the elder Count Harrach, and with the overbearing off-hand conduct of the younger; both of whom, besides, were forced into frugality, and even stinginess, by the want of supplies from home, as the Vienna government kept them so short of means that they were scarcely able to defray the expenses of a regular service of couriers. Harcourt, on the other hand, won the hearts of the people by his profuse expenditure, his liberality, and affability; the good will of the clergy, by a show of respect and by strict religious observance; and the interest of the nobles, by flattering their vanity and by assisting those who wanted it with money. His wife too was most accomplished; one of the ornaments of the brilliant circles of the court of Versailles. She threw open her drawing-room to all the high world of Madrid; so that the hotel of the French embassy became the centre of the best company. All the *attachés* of the ambassador having strict orders from the French King himself to abstain from every illicit gallantry, the French character showed itself only in its most amiable light. The Cardinal-archbishop of Toledo, Portocarrero, being the most influential man at court, the marquis bribed his secretary Uraeca, who ruled his master; and thus the cardinal was made to do what Harcourt demanded through Uracca. The most important acquisition, however, for the French interest, was the favourite of the queen, the Countess Gertrude Berlepsch.* Harcourt gained her over

* The widow of a poor Hessian nobleman. The queen had known her

by a present of 25,000 Spanish pistoles; and by informing her that the Austrian ambassador had asked for her removal from court. Through her and through his own wife, Harcourt now also insinuated himself with the queen. The marquise displayed all her graceful and engaging qualities to such advantage, that soon the queen could not pass a day without her. Harcourt then made his wife flatter Maria Anna with the hope that, as soon as her hand should be disposable by the death of the king, the Dauphin — the father of the Duke of Anjou, the intended King of Spain — would marry her. The personage most averse to France was the king. Charles II. had a natural antipathy to everything French. He was always grieved if the queen showed no disgust at a Frenchman entering the palace-yard. He even loathed her dogs and parrots, merely because they had come from France; and was most grateful to the Duchess of Terranuova for having strangled the favourite parrot of the queen, which chattered only in French. But Charles II. was weak in body and mind; so weak, that he even fancied he saw ghosts; and he was quite in the hands of Portocarrero. The latter, being a partisan of the French, was aided by the Jesuits; who likewise sided with France. Thus the king was intimidated. When the queen once more inclined to the Austrian interest, the cardinal succeeded in intimidating her also; and at that time she disclosed to the king the intrigues of Harcourt, and even the offer of marrying her to the Dauphin. Charles sent to Vienna for the archduke, and made a will in his favour. In full reliance on this will, Count Harrach complacently looked on at all the intrigues of his rival.

But four weeks after, on the 3rd of October, 1700, Cardinal Portacarrero got the weak-minded king to sign another will in favour of the Duke of Anjou. It

even before marriage, and had taken her with her to Spain, where she caused her to be raised to the rank of a countess of the Empire.

was a downright fraud. The document contained a number of gifts and bequests to the Church, which alone were read to the king; who then put his name to the whole, believing it to be nothing more than a deed of gift to some convents, in prepayment of 100,000 masses to be said for his soul and for those of his ancestors. After the king, seven witnesses, who were in the secret, appended their signatures. No one else—not even the queen—knew anything of the matter. The testament in favour of the archduke was burned.

Again four weeks after this last will, which Prince Eugene, in a letter dated 21st of June, 1715, to the Papal Nuncio Passionei, speaks of as "notoriously concocted in Rome;" Charles II. died, 1st of November, 1700, at the age of thirty-nine.

On the very day of his death, the last testament was opened in the council of state in the presence of the queen. All the grandees, bishops, and high dignitaries of the court and state then present at Madrid crowded to the throne-room. The Austrian ambassador in full costume was walking to and fro in the ante-chamber, expecting the congratulations of the court on the elevation of the archduke to the throne of Spain. The folding-doors opened, and the queen came out with confusion and anger in her face, followed by the grandees, most of whom showed unmistakeable signs of delight. The Duke of Abrantes with open arms ran up to Count Harrach. When the latter called out to him, "I shall commend your zeal to the Emperor;" the duke answered sadly, "I am coming to take leave of the House of Austria."

The Duke of Anjou was declared by the will heir to the whole of the Spanish monarchy. Austria had at one stroke lost twenty-two kingdoms in the old and new world. On the 24th of November, the Duke of Anjou was proclaimed as Philip V. at Madrid, where he arrived from Versailles on the 14th of April, 1701.

9. THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION. — MARLBOROUGH'S VICTORY NEAR HÖCHSTÄDT (BLENHEIM).—LEOPOLD'S DEATH.

On the 20th of May, 1701, Prince Eugene, commander-in-chief of the Austrian army, appeared in the camp at Roveredo. This was the commencement of the great war of the Spanish Succession, for which the Emperor was not prepared. Eugene had not more than 30,000 men, with whom however he managed to keep his footing in Lombardy. At last, on the 7th of September, 1701, the maritime powers concluded at the Hague the Grand Alliance with the Emperor. The danger was imminent; it being only too apparent that France, already so powerful by the successful wars of Louis XIV., would become paramount in Europe if she were allowed to combine the vast Spanish dominions with those which she possessed already. To this French preponderance and dictatorship the idea of the balance of Europe was opposed. As in the war from 1688 to 1697, William of Orange, Sir William Temple, and the great Elector of Brandenburg, had stood against Louis XIV.; thus now Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, and the Batavian Grand Pensionary Heinsius made head against him. These were the two great triumvirates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These six great men were all personal enemies of Louis, having every one of them to resent some indiscreet insult offered to them by the haughty monarch. War was declared against France on the 15th of May, 1702, by the Alliance of the Hague; and on the 6th of October, 1702, rather tardily, by the German Empire. The campaign was now likewise opened in the Netherlands and on the Rhine. The army for the latter was commanded by the cautious Margrave Louis of Baden.

Brandenburg and Hanover were gained over; the former by the grant of the royal title, the latter by the electoral

dignity, the Duke of Hanover being created the ninth elector of the Empire. The Papist councillors of the Emperor scrupled not to bestow this great accession of honour to two heretical powers. As the likewise heretical maritime powers of England and Holland provided money, thus Prussia and Hanover provided soldiers; — Prussia granted 10,000 *men and Hanover* 6000, *"for all times to come;"—and what the Austrian aristocracy wanted most were money and soldiers, and that money and those soldiers furnished by others, so that their own cash might be saved.*

It did not occur to the Imperial cabinet what vast consequences might spring from the grant of the royal dignity to Prussia; but Prince Eugene very justly gave his opinion that "the people who had thus advised the Emperor deserved to be hanged." The Emperor, melancholy to relate, was but a puppet in the hands of these men, although he was outwardly treated with the same pageantry of submissiveness as any oriental ruler. Leopold at last, in fact, did nothing whatever himself, but let others do as they liked; the natural consequence of which was utter confusion. The son of the Emperor had now to play a part in order to animate the warlike spirit of the army. The King of the Romans elect, Joseph I., arrived in full state, in July, 1702, in the camp before Landau. The royal *cortége*, however, did not present a very martial appearance. Joseph was followed by a suite of 230 persons, more than 100 of whom belonged to his kitchen and cellar; besides which, 170 persons, with a separate staff of ten cooks and under cooks, and of sixteen scullions in ordinary and extraordinary, followed in the train of the queen. This royal caravan travelled, in 77 coaches and calêches, by Eger, Baireuth, Bamberg, Ansbach, and Heidelberg, where the queen stopped whilst the king went on to the camp. In the following year, the Archduke Charles set out for Spain likewise in full state.

When the archduke at last had started for Spain to

gain a crown at the sword's point, the old Emperor Leopold was again sorely threatened in Vienna by his enemies: on the one side, by Marshal Villars and the Elector Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria, and, on the other, by Ragoczy. The Hungarians once more burned and devastated the country to the very walls of Vienna, whose fortifications had never been quite restored since the Turkish siege of 1683, and whose garrison had been sent to Italy. Villars and Maximilian Emanuel had united near Tuttlingen in Swabia. They intended first to march straightway upon Vienna, and there lend a hand to Ragoczy; but at last, Villars and Maximilian agreed that the latter should try to keep up a communication through Tyrol and Styria with the Hungarians; and at the same time with the Duke of Vendôme, who pushed on from Italy to Trent. The fortress of Kuffstein and the town of Innsbruck having been speedily conquered by the elector, in June; the Tyrolese peasantry, with the same patriotism and faithfulness to Austria which they showed in 1809, rose in July against the Bavarians and French, and soon drove them from their country. The Tyrolese, who were sent to Vienna as the saviours of "the gem of the Austrian monarchy," were received there with great triumph, and afforded much amusement. The peasant Captain Haser, who with his wooden cannon had made such good practice against the enemy, received an audience of the Emperor, and was presented by him with a golden chain of honour. Prince Liechtenstein and others invited him to their tables, where he quite innocently went up to the ladies, kissed them, and asked for their portraits. After such a party, he was taken home in a sedan-chair, the bottom of which gave way; and the porters, who were bribed for the trick, ran with him as fast as they could. Yet the simple-hearted rustic suspected no harm, although, during this involuntary race, he shouted most lustily and tried to extricate himself from his cage.

The prospects of the year 1703 were most gloomy on all sides; almost as distressing as in 1683, when the Turks were before the gates of Vienna. Matters had indeed come to such a pass at last as to bring about the dismissal of the ruinous Prince Mansfeldt; who was in that year, as president of the Aulic Council of War and as commissary general, supplanted by Prince Eugene.

Even in the spring of 1704, the position of Austria was so desperate that the Austrian ambassador in London, Count John Wenceslaus Wratislaw, in a memorial to Queen Anne (dated 2nd of April, 1704), expressed himself in the following terms:—

"MADAME,—

"Le soussigné envoyé extraordinaire de sa Majesté Impériale ayant représenté de vive voix en diverses occasions aux ministres de votre Majesté la dure extremité dans laquelle se trouve l'Empire, par l'introduction d'une armée nombreuse de François dans la Bavière laquelle jointe à la revolte de la Hongrie met les païs héréditaires de sa Majesté Impériale dans une confusion incroyable, de sorte que si l'on n'apporte pas un remède prompt et proportionné au danger présent, dont on est menacé, on a à craindre une résolution entière, et une destruction totale de l'Allemagne."

Marlborough at last came to the relief of the Emperor by his celebrated march from the Netherlands to the Danube. Covering this vast undertaking with the most profound secrecy, he set out on the 19th of May, and met, on the 10th of June, with Eugene at Mindelsheim, an estate which the Emperor afterwards bestowed on the English hero, with the title of a prince of the Empire. It was the first time that the two greatest captains of the age saw one another. On the 22nd of June, they were joined by the third general, the Margrave Louis of Baden.

Marlborough tried by every public and private means to manage that Prince Eugene should remain with him on the Danube; but, owing to the margrave, as senior general, insisting upon having the choice, Eugene was sent to the Rhine. Marlborough and the margrave took the chief command in alternate turns of twenty-four hours; and so strictly was the military etiquette kept up, that the troops of the margrave always formed the right, and those of Marlborough the left wing.

Yet, after all, Marlborough and Prince Eugene joined their forces against the allied French and Bavarian troops. The margrave, being passionately fond of siege operations, had been cleverly put out of the way by giving him the fortress of Ingolstadt to invest. The two together gained the great victory of Höchstädt-Blenheim (Blindheim), on the 13th of August, 1704. The French suffered a defeat such as they never had had since the memorable day of Pavia. Bavaria was conquered; the Austrian monarchy and the Empire were saved. Lieutenant-colonel Gundacker, Count Althann, brought the news of this momentous victory, which decided the fate of one-half of the world, to Vienna. Leopold did what, according to the strict rules of etiquette, he otherwise only did to reigning princes;—he wrote with his own hand a letter of congratulation to Marlborough. "You have," his majesty said, "erected to the most illustrious and potent Queen of Great Britain a monument of victory in Upper Germany, whither the glorious arms of the English nation never, in the memory of man, have penetrated before."

On the 5th of May, 1705, the Emperor Leopold died, at the age of sixty-four, of dropsy of the chest. Even after he had uttered his last prayer, his passionate fondness for music returned to him once more. He ordered his private band to enter his chamber; and, whilst they thus played to him for the last time, he expired amidst the sweet strains of the instruments.

In those times of ceremony and etiquette, the death and funeral of an Emperor was an affair of the highest importance. We give therefore all the details of the solemn funeral of Leopold; and, by way of variety, beg leave to insert the description in the original French of the "Letters Historiques."

"Le 6 Mai le corps du feu Empereur fut ouvert et embaumé selon la coutume. Son cœur fut transporté dans la chapelle de Lorette de l'église des Augustins dechaussés, et deposé dans une boîte d'argent au lieu ordinaire derrière l'autel. Les entrailles ayant été mises aussi dans une boîte d'argent furent portées dans l'église cathedrale de S. Etienne.

"Cependant le corps fut exposé le soir dans la grande salle du palais que l'on appelle le Rittersaal, sur un lit de parade couvert de drap d'or et noir et sous un dais de velours noir. La salle et tous les autres apartements du palais étoient tendus de deuil. Aux pieds du corps, qui étoit vêtu à l'Espagnole, ayant le chapeau en tête, le manteau sur les epaules, et l'epée au coté, on avait mis un crucifix d'argent; et à quelque distance de là sur un carreau de drap d'or la couronne impériale, la pomme, le sceptre, et la toison d'or. A la main droite on voyoit aussi sur un carreau de drap d'argent les couronnes de Hongrie et de Bohème, et tout autour du lit de grands chandeliers d'argent avec des cierges de cire blanche qui brûloient nuit et jour. 4 chambellans du feu Empereur avec 4 de ses valets de chambre étoient continuellement de garde auprès du corps en longs manteaux de deuil, et 4 religieux Augustins y assistoient pareillement faisant leurs prières pour le répos de l'âme de S. M. Il y avoit aussi dans la salle 4 autels portatifs sur lesquels on disoit plusieurs messes, et cette exposition dura 3 jours, c'est à dire le 6, le 7, et le 8. Il s'y trouva un grand concours de monde, et les cloches de la ville et des environs sonnèrent presque sans cesse.

" Le samedi, 9, au soir, il fut transporté dans l'église des Capuchins dans la manière suivante, toutes les cloches de la ville sonnant.

" Premièrement, il fut porté le long de la galerie de communication par 12 chevaliers de la clef d'or depuis le palais jusque dans la chapelle impériale de l'église des Augustins dechaussés, où il fut mis sur un brancard plus grand; et de là il fut porté chez les Capuchins par 24 autres chevaliers de la clef d'or plus anciens que ceux-là, assistés de 12 adjutants de la chambre.

" *Tous les pauvres* des hôpitaux de la ville et de ses fauxbourgs marchoient à la tête de cette procession funèbre, chacun avec une chandelle allumée dans la main, outr'une infinité de flambeaux dont étoient illuminées les rues par où l'on passa.

" On voyoit en suite venir *tous les ordres religieux.*

" (1.) Les Pères trinitaires dechaussés de la Redemption des Captifs,

" (2.) Les Carmes,

" (3.) Les Pères servites,

" (4.) Les Minimes,

" (5.) Les Franciscains de S. Jerome,

" (6.) Les Dominicains,

" (7.) Les Ecclesiastics de l'Hôpital Borghese,

" (8.) Les Chanoines reguliers de S. Augustin de l'église S. Dorothée,

" (9.) Les Pères Benedictins nommés Scozzesi (the monks of the Scotch monastery),

" (10.) Les Recolets,

" (11.) Les Pères Barnabites de S. Michel,

" (12.) Les Pères Augustins dechaussés,

" (13.) Les Capuchins.

" Après venoient *les Domestiques et Officiers de la Cour,*

" *Les Magistrats de la Ville de Vienne,*

" *Les Etats d'Autriche,* avec des chandelles de cire blanche, un très grand nombre *de Chevaliers de la clef d'or*

et de chambellans, portant aussi chacun une bougie allumée dans la main,

" *Les conseillers de la toison d'or,* revêtus du grand collier de cet ordre,

" *La musique impériale,*

" *Le vénérable Chapitre de S. Etienne,* 12 prelats en habits pontificaux,

" *Le Recteur magnifique et les* 4 *doyens de cette université,* chacun avec son bedeau,

" *L'Evecque de Vienne.*

" Ensuite venoit *le corps de S. M. I.,* porté comme nous l'avons dit, par 24 chevaliers de la clef d'or. Le brancard et le cercueil étoient couverte d'un drap d'or à fond noir. On voyoit au dessus du côté de la tête la couronne impériale, la pomme, le sceptre, et la toison d'or; au lieu il y avoit un crucifix; et plus bas on voyoit les couronnes de Hongrie et de Bohème sur 2 coussins.

" *Les principaux Ministres de la Cour* marchoient aux deux côtés du cercueil.

" *Le Cardinal de Collonitz* suivoit avec *l'Ambassadeur de Venise.*

" Après on voyoit *le nouvel Empereur Joseph I. l'Impératrice* son illustre épouse, *les* 3 *Archiduchesses,* filles du defunt, *toutes les Dames de la Cour,* suivies de *toutes les autres Dames,* qui se trouvoient en ville et le tout étoit en habits de grand deuil à la reserve des Ecclesiastiques qui en sont toujours dispensés.

" *Les Gardes du corps,* ainsi que *les soldats de la garnison de la ville* étoient rangés en haye dans les rues du passage et dans la place des Capuchins, ayant à leur tête *le Marquis d'Obizzi.,* Commandant de cette ville et Maréchal de camp des armées de S. M. I. — toutes leurs armes étoient renversées, leurs tambours étoient aussi couverts de drap noir, et leur son étoit très lugubre.

" Comme l'église des Capuchins ne pouvoit pas contenir

tant de monde il n'y eut que la Cour, la principale Noblesse et le clergé regulier qui y entra."

10. LEOPOLD'S FAMILY.

LEOPOLD was married three times: in 1666, at the age of twenty-six, to the young Spanish Infanta Margareta Theresa, who died after a short union in 1673; within one year of her death, he took for his second wife the gay, gallant Claudia of Tyrol, the enemy of Lobkowitz; and after her death, in 1676, again within the year, he married Eleanor of Neuburg.

This third wife was a most religious, almost too religious, princess, whose greatest happiness would have been to go into a convent. On hearing of the project of marrying her to Leopold, she intentionally exposed herself to the sun and wind and weather, in order to spoil her complexion, and thus deter the Emperor from his suit. She was fond of serious conversation, and, being very learned, she would even herself dabble in theological authorship; besides this, she was well versed in languages and music, and particularly skilled in that sort of ladies' work which is practised in nunneries. She was so exceedingly pious and industrious, that she would flog herself till the blood came; she wore bracelets with iron spikes, which pierced the flesh; followed processions barefooted; and even during the operas, which to please her husband she was obliged to visit, she read the Psalms, which she had bound like the librettos; and whilst her mind was thus occupied, her hands were engaged in working ornaments for the decorations of holy altars. During the last illness of the Emperor, she for several weeks never left his chamber. During the last eight days, she did not even change her dress, but was always sitting at his feet. She survived Leopold, to whom she bore ten children, about fifteen

years. She is the foundress of the large hospital in the Rossau.

Leopold had, by his three wives, sixteen children; five sons and eleven daughters. Three of the former and seven of the latter died before him, and most of them in infancy. A son of his Spanish wife died in 1668, not more than three months old. Of the two princes and two princesses by this marriage, one daughter, Maria Antonia, alone lived to grow up. She was married in 1685, at the age of sixteen, to the Elector Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria; but she too died before her father, in 1692. Two daughters by Claudia of Tyrol died shortly after their birth. For ten years, from 1668 to 1678, Leopold was the only male representative of the Austrian line of the House of Habsburg. By his third marriage only, the two Archdukes Joseph I. (1678) and Charles VI. (1685) were born; and this youngest son was the last direct representative of the entire House of Habsburg. Of Leopold's daughters, Maria Anna married in 1708, at the age of twenty-five, King John V. of Portugal; Maria Elizabeth died unmarried at the age of seventy in 1750, as Regent of the Netherlands; and Mary Magdalene died likewise unmarried in 1752, at the age of sixty-three, in Vienna.

CHAPTER X.

JOSEPH I.

1705—1711.

PERSONAL NOTICES. — PRINCE SALM, PRINCE TRAUTSON, AND PRINCE LAMBERG.

LEOPOLD I. was succeeded by his eldest son Joseph I., born in 1678. When not more than two years and a half old, on twelfth-day, 1681, he appeared, as the "Frankfort Relations" report, "at court for the first time; in German dress, with a sword richly studded with diamonds; and he was publicly produced, and people were admitted to kiss his hand." He was not more than eight years when he received his own household, composed of Prince Salm as lord steward, and of six chamberlains. Joseph I. was crowned, on the 9th of December, 1687, as King of Hungary; and on the 24th of January, 1690, as King of the Romans. The latter was a triumph over the French; Louis XIV. having again tried to bring in the Dauphin. The fact of a boy of eleven years and a half being elected successor to the Imperial crown, was a significant proof of what an ascendency the victories against the Turks and the alliance with the money-supplying maritime powers had procured for the Emperor.

Joseph I. was fair, with blue eyes, of healthy constitution, and, from a child, active and lively; but his pious

and stern mother Eleanor of Neuburg kept him under strict and even harsh discipline. The first Joseph had to endure from Eleanor, just as the second Joseph from Maria Theresa, very unceremonious and severe chastisement, even as King of the Romans. He bore it with great impatience; and once, subsequently to his coronation at Augsburg, broke out into the remark, that such treatment was most unbecoming to a twice-crowned head. His two principal passions—a most excessive and truly "Olympic" pride, and a very strong inclination to gallantry, in the infamous fashion of the French court—were first fostered by this saintly and monkish education. The influence of the Empress mother on her son was nearly as great as that of Eleonora Gonzaga of Mantua had been on her stepson Leopold:—the Empress mothers have played a great part at the court of Vienna, even down to the most recent times.

At the age of twenty-one, in 1699, Joseph was married to Amalia of Hanover*, his senior by nearly five years. She was the daughter of the convert duke John Frederic, and had received her education in France. This princess was, for political and religious reasons, chosen in preference to three others—the Papist Duchess of Guastalla and two

* The Salzburg court poets celebrated the auspicious event in the following couplet, which is a real tit bit of macaroni-rococo composition:—

"Recht aus dreien ist erkoren,
Wo das *Ama* geht hervor:
Da *Amalia* ward geboren,
Hat Gott schon gesehn zuvor,
Dass die Braut *Amalia*,
Sein 'sollt' und nicht *alia*."

Which may be translated, without laying claim to the merit of equalling the sublime absurdity of the original:—

"Right return of right election,
Ama, chosen from the three;
At *Amalia's* birth already
Divine Providence did foresee,
That to him *Amalia*
Should be bride, not *Alia*."

Protestant ladies, one a Princess of Denmark, and one of Brandenburg Ansbach. The former of the two, Sophia Hedwig, a daughter of King Christian V., consented to change her religion on condition of the Pope's granting her dispensation with regard to the eucharist in both kinds; and in the points of purgatory and the worship of saints. The latter was Caroline, afterwards the clever queen of George II. of England. She was likewise thought of for a wife by Joseph's brother Charles VI., before his departure for Spain; but she opposed a positive refusal to every attempt to make her embrace Popery.

The marriage had been celebrated by proxy at Modena, where the duke, the brother-in-law of the bride, acted as the representative of the royal bridegroom. With very significant caution, the household of the royal bride was composed in such a manner as not to include any lady of conspicuous personal attractions.

On the death of his father, Joseph was not more than twenty-six years of age. The whole of his short reign was taken up with the harassing war of the Spanish Succession.

Joseph shared with his father the fondness for the pleasures of the chase and for music, and also his hostility to the French; which, however, was in him much more fiery and impetuous than in his phlegmatic father. Once, on seeing at the riding-school the Marquess de Villars, who, before the outbreak of the war, was French ambassador at Vienna, he drew his sword, and said to his wife, "How glad should I be to get at these Frenchmen." When, however, at the campaign on the Rhine, 1702, he appeared in person at the camp of the Margrave Louis of Baden, this military ardour was by no means remarkable. History has no record of Joseph's having gathered any laurels; his visit to the camp was a mere visit of state, undertaken to animate, by the presence of the vicegerent of the head

of the Empire, the patriotic zeal of his faithful and obedient subjects. Joseph was an enthusiastic admirer of Marlborough. When, on the Sunday after the victory of the Schellenberg, in 1704, which was the prelude of the great victory of Blenheim, the court went in solemn procession to the Imperial chapel, Joseph stepped out of the ranks, and went up to congratulate the English ambassador; and when, a short time after, the great decisive victory followed, he said to the same diplomatist (Sir George Stepney), "I am burning with desire to make the acquaintance of your illustrious generalissimo." This acquaintance was formed within the same year, on the occasion of Joseph's second visit of state to the camp before Landau. Joseph had scarcely ascended the Imperial throne, when he graciously invited the duke to Vienna by a letter written in his own hand. Marlborough made his appearance there, on the 12th of November, 1705; and left —after having been treated by the court of Vienna, as the "Frankfort Relations" express it, "with every imaginable honour"—on the 22nd, with his son-in-law the Earl of Sunderland.

Joseph as Emperor carried on the war against the French with the utmost energy, and also proceeded against their allies, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, with the greatest vigour; outlawry being declared against them on the 10th of May, 1706, at Ratisbon, Munich, and Vienna. At Ratisbon, a strange incident happened at the proclamation of outlawry. In the large, lofty, but rather dilapidated hall where the antiquated body of the German Diet held its sittings, there was by the side of the principal entrance one of those cunningly contrived clocks, from under the dial of which every hour some figures came forth, the rear being brought up by a crowing cock. The old clockwork was very often out of order, so that the figures failed in their prescribed task. But scarcely was the outlawry proclaimed against Bavaria and Cologne, when the cock,

having long been mute, unexpectedly began to crow. Neither the grave etiquette of the diet, nor the gloomy solemnity of the severe act in which it was engaged, was able to restrain the assembly from a general burst of laughter; the extemporising bird, however, was thenceforth condemned to complete silence.

Joseph's mainstay during the war of the Spanish Succession was Prince Eugene; who enjoyed his full favour, and who, in fact, was treated by him as a friend in the true meaning of the word. This friendship was the more remarkable, as Joseph, in his Olympic pride, insisted on all the thousand minute punctilios of etiquette more rigorously than any German Emperor before or after him. No ambassador under the rank of a count was admitted to his antechamber; the deputies of the free Imperial cities were not even allowed to present themselves in the outermost room of his apartments.

Even as King of the Romans, before his accession to the Imperial throne, he never sat down to table with other princes; not even whilst travelling in their countries, and when they entertained him at their own palaces. He never employed a commoner as his minister or as ambassador, as even his father had occasionally done.

But the Emperor Joseph was, in the point of religion, much more tolerant than all his predecessors of the Styrian line; and in many other respects gave very fair promise. Anxious to form his own mind independent of the influence of prejudiced tutors, he had learned with great zeal and application all the principal languages, to be able to read the most eminent works written in them. He sought the company of foreigners mainly from a wish to improve himself. Italians stood high in his favour; and, notwithstanding his aversion to the French as a nation, he loved to converse with them as individuals: Villars especially was a most welcome companion to him. The Jesuits he despised and detested; under him they began to lose

ground at the court of Vienna. He likewise despised the saintly Camarilla, which had exercised paramount influence at the court of his father. He moreover despised women, although in point of chastity he was the very reverse of his sire. Gallantries were a great feature in Joseph's conduct; but he did not allow himself to be guided in any way by his paramours, some of whom were bribed to betray his secrets. Yet, although his very pious but not very judicious consort had not the least power over him in the point of religion, she was by no means without political influence, as he used to consult her in all important affairs. Amalia, however, as the Duchess of Orleans once wrote, "was entirely ruled by the priests, who egged her on to commit numbers of stupid blunders (*sottises.*)"

Joseph's education had not been a monkish one, like that of Leopold and of the four Ferdinands. He had for his (chief governor field-marshal) general Prince Salm. His tutor in history was Dr. Jur. Wagner, who was ennobled under the title of Baron von Wagenfels; his *religious teacher* — contrary to the long-established custom, no Jesuit, but a secular priest—was Baron Francis Ferdinand von Rummel, who in 1706 became Bishop of Vienna, and who died in 1716, at the age of seventy-three. Salm kept the Jesuits and monks removed from his royal pupil, whom he endeavoured to imbue with principles of toleration; and he was always present during the hours of instruction, which he endeavoured to render to the archduke as pleasant as possible. The well-known "Historische Bildersaal" (Gallery of Historical Characters), by the Palatine-Sulzbach Privy Councillor Andrew Lazarus von Imhoff, was specially composed for the benefit of Joseph. Salm, who caused his own son to be instructed together with the archduke, occasionally gave the future Emperor, during Wagner's lecture hours, the benefit of his own practical experience in public affairs. With the express consent of the old Emperor Leopold, Joseph was directed not to

allow in future any paramount influence to foreigners, especially Italians; nor to yield too much to the priests. Even the firmness of Prince Lobkowitz in preventing Leopold from leaving to the Jesuits Glatz and Grätz, was pointed out to the archduke as worthy of praise. *The alliance with the Protestant maritime powers thus bore good fruit;* the progress in the path of toleration which England and Holland had made, now profited even the bigoted Papist court of Vienna, which, on various other occasions, turned to account the results of "heretical" wisdom; as, for instance, Maria Theresa and Joseph II. have borrowed a good many improvements from that arch-heretic Frederic the Great.

Rummel, Joseph's tutor, unmasked many most scandalous intrigues and doings of the Jesuits, and especially exposed one of their plots which had caused a great sensation. Joseph was, for several successive nights, warned by a ghost to have his tutor dismissed as soon as might be. But the archduke communicated the mysterious warning to his intimate friend the strong Frederic Augustus of Saxony, who happened then to be on a visit at Vienna. When the ghost re-appeared, to repeat his warning, he was flung by the Saxon Hercules into the fosse of the Hofburg, below what is at present the Imperial library.

Joseph was the first to take any steps against the order. In the funeral oration on the Emperor Leopold, the Jesuit Wiedemann pointedly set forth, that those princes only had been prosperous and victorious who had been educated by the fathers of his order. He was forthwith expelled the Austrian dominions. Joseph also first deviated from the rule hitherto followed of having Jesuits for confessors. The fathers of the order then made insinuations to the Pope against Joseph's confessor, alleging that he was more attached to the Emperor than to the Vatican. The priest was therefore summoned to Rome. The Emperor Joseph II., in a letter to the Duc de Choiseul, of January, 1770, men-

tions, with regard to this incident, "the confessor foresaw the cruel fate which would befall him if he were compelled to go there, and he begged the Emperor to prevent it. But, notwithstanding all that the monarch could do to prevent this step, the Papal Nuncio, in the name of his court, demanded his removal. Incensed at this despotism of Rome, the Emperor now declared that, if this priest were compelled to go to Rome, *he should not go without numerous company;* and that all the Jesuits of the Austrian countries should accompany him, never to appear before him again. This answer of the Emperor, doubly unexpected and resolute for those times, made the Jesuits desist from their intention. If Joseph I. had not become Emperor, *we might have seen in Germany an attempt at regicide.*"

When the Pope Clement XI. (Albani) saw that Joseph I. spoke to him in a very different tone from that of the devout Leopold, he revenged himself by a homily, which he even published in print, on the text: "*Aquila insidet corporibus.*" It was a gross satire on the innumerable amorous intrigues of the Emperor.

Gallantry being, next to pride, the weakest point of Joseph's character, the lash of the pontiff cut so much the more to the quick. "That the present Emperor is *galant à outrance* is no secret, the whole world speaks of it;" writes the Duchess of Orleans, on the 23rd of May, 1705.

Joseph even again made concessions to Protestantism; appointing, contrary to every precedent of the last hundred and fifty years, as one of his lords of the bedchamber, a Lutheran, Field-marshal-lieutenant Baron von Erlach. Charles XII., in whom they then apprehended a new Gustavus Adolphus, having overrun Saxony, and addressed urgent remonstrances to the Emperor concerning the religious liberty which, contrary to existing treaties, was withheld from Silesia; Joseph impatiently replied to the

Jesuits, when they made objections against it: "You had better sing a *Te Deum* that Charles has not asked me to become a Lutheran; verily I do not know what I should have done if he had." Count Wratislaw, at that time, concluded, agreeably to Charles' request, with the Swedish minister Count Piper, in the camp of Liebertwolkwitz near Leipzig, a treaty concerning the sufferance churches to be granted to the Silesian Protestants.

Joseph, in the course of the war of the Spanish Succession, had had plenty of opportunities of knowing the intrigues of the Jesuits; and some of the letters of Prince Eugene leave no doubt but that it was their order which, in the interest of France, foiled the plan of sending Eugene to Spain, there to conquer that crown for the House of Austria.

Joseph's premier was his former governor, Field-marshal-general Prince Charles Dieterich Otto of Salm. He was of that ancient house of Rhinegraves, whose earliest ancestors probably — although of course documentary evidence can now no more be produced — were among the attendants of the Frankish Clovis at the conquest of Gaul. Several lines of the house of Salm had embraced the cause of the Reformation: but the elder branch remained Papist and true to Austria; in reward for which, Count Philip Otto was, in 1623, raised to the rank of a prince of the Empire. His grandson was Prince Otto, the premier of Joseph I. When Louis XIV., in 1666, overran the Spanish Netherlands, Prince Otto, who hated the French with all his heart, raised a regiment against them. He was made a prisoner in 1674, at Seneff. He afterwards served in the army which came to the relief of Vienna under the Duke of Lorraine; then against the Turks in Hungary; became a field-marshal-general; and in 1685, governor of the young Archduke Joseph, and at the same time a privy councillor. On Joseph's accession, in 1705, he was appointed premier; but resigned the office

in 1709, as he could not agree with the Emperor's favourite, Prince Lamberg. He was sorely afflicted with the gout, which completely lamed him. After his resignation, he retired to his estates in the Netherlands, and died in the following year at Aix-la-Chapelle, at the age of sixty-five. He was a kind-hearted man; but of exceedingly warm temper, which he sometimes made even his royal pupil feel. When, therefore, the prince one day rebuked the archduke for hasty and violent conduct; Joseph replied, that he only followed the example of his governor. The Margrave Louis of Baden was his most intimate friend. Prince Otto was married to a princess-palatine, a granddaughter of Elizabeth Stuart, the ex-Queen of Bohemia. Had not Salm been a Papist, his son might have become King of England, being descended from an elder* representative of the Stuarts, than the Hanoverian line.

The man who stood highest in Joseph's favour was Leopold Matthias, the first Prince Lamberg. His grandfather John Maximilian, raised to the rank of count by Ferdinand II., and his father Francis Joseph, had occupied a prominent position at court in their times. Leopold Matthias had been a playfellow of Joseph's, to whose household he was first attached as a page; and his lively wit, jovial temper, and merry disposition made him a general favourite with every one—most of all with the Emperor himself, whose affectionate friendship he carried with him to the grave. Like Prince Lobkowitz, he was always brimful of *bons mots*, and had in an eminent degree the gift of ready repartee. Joseph was immoderately fond of display; and as Lamberg had appeared at several court festivities in the same dress, he sneered at him, saying, "Lamberg, I really think you and your dress are wedded to each other." Lamberg immediately replied: "If your Ma-

* The father of the lady was Edward, the fourth son of the ex-King of Bohemia, by Elizabeth, the daughter of James I. The Princess Sophia, mother of George I., was a younger sister of his.

jesty expects us to practice polygamy in point of dress, the *credit* of many your servants will be in great peril." In 1707, Joseph raised him to the dignity of a prince of the Empire; investing him with the principality of Leuchtenberg, taken from the outlawed Duke of Bavaria, and actually introducing him into the body of sovereign princes. But Lamberg did not live to enjoy his honours long. He died in 1711, at the age of forty-four, having received even on his death-bed from his Imperial patron a present of 150,000 florins. As he left no issue, the princely dignity went to his father, from whom it afterwards devolved on another son.*

Four weeks after the death of his favourite, the Emperor Joseph followed him. "Le comte de Sinzendorf m'a dit," the Hanovarian secretary Robethon wrote on this occasion to the minister Bernstorff, "que Sa Maj. Imp. dès le second jour de sa maladie avait renvoyé à ses maîtresses toutes leurs lettres, et avoit demandé pardon à l'Impératrice de ses petites intrigues, après quoi il s'était confessé, &c., &c." Joseph died on the 17th of April, 1711, in the midst of the active prosecution of his building plans at Schönbrunn, his favourite resort; which he wished to have raised by his architect Fischer of Erlach into an Austrian Versailles. He was carried off, when not more than thirty-three years of age, by the small-pox; to which, in the course of the eighteenth century, besides him, two empresses, six archdukes and archduchesses, an Elector of Saxony, and the last Elector of Bavaria, fell victims. The faculty in Germany did not then know how to treat the malady. They shut up the Emperor in a close room, carefully excluding every breath of air, and wrapping him up in a piece of English flannel nearly twenty yards in length. The people again,

* The celebrated Cardinal Lamberg, who, as principal Imperial commissioner at the Diet of Ratisbon, from 1701 to 1712, was the staunch supporter of the Austrian interest, was Prince Lamberg's uncle.

as in the case of Maximilian II., would have it that he had been poisoned by the Jesuits; although, when the body was opened, all the organs were found to be in a perfectly healthy state.

Joseph left no son, the crown-prince having died in 1701, scarcely one year after his birth. Of the two daughters, the elder, Maria Josepha, was married, in 1719, at the age of twenty, to Augustus III., son of Augustus the Strong, of Saxony and Poland; and the other, Maria Amalia, in 1722, at the age of twenty-one, to the Elector Charles Albert of Bavaria, afterwards the Emperor Charles VII.

CHAPTER XI.

CHARLES VI.

THE LAST EMPEROR OF THE DIRECT MALE LINE OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG.

1711—1740.

1. HIS YOUTH.—JOURNEY TO SPAIN.—RECEPTION AT THE ENGLISH COURT.

JOSEPH I. was succeeded by his brother Charles VI., the sixteenth and last Emperor of the old male line of Habsburg. Charles, the youngest son of Leopold I., was born in 1685. As he was far away in Spain, engaged in the struggle for that crown, his brother Joseph had, previous to his death, appointed a regency at Vienna, consisting of the Empress-dowager Amalia of Hanover, Prince Eugene, the Princes Mansfeldt and Trautson, Counts Wratislaw, Windischgrätz, and Schönborn, and the Aulic Chancellor Baron Seilern. This regency conducted the business of the government until Charles returned from Spain to Germany.

Charles, being the youngest son, had, like his father, been intended for the church. His tutor was the Jesuit Andrew Braun; and, since 1692, Prince Anton Florian Liechtenstein was his chief governor.

Charles had left Germany on the 19th of September, 1703,

for Spain, where he passed seven years in varied fortunes. The Castilians were averse to him; the kingdom of Aragon and especially Catalonia had alone shown themselves warmly devoted to his cause. When, in 1711, he received the news of the sudden death of his brother, he was shut up in Barcelona. To return to Vienna, he sailed to Genoa, under the escort of the English and Dutch men-of-war; and thus succeeded in escaping from the French. But he was obliged to leave his wife, the beautiful Elizabeth of Brunswick, behind him in Catalonia as Queen-regent of Spain. Embarking at Barcelona on the 27th of September, 1711, he entrusted her to the care of Field-marshal Guido of Starhemberg, the conqueror of Saragossa. The new Emperor then lived for two years at Vienna away from his wife; who returned to him only after the peace, under the escort of a squadron of twelve English ships of war commanded by Admiral Jennings. The French had very nearly carried her off as a prisoner to France; and the Emperor himself had a narrow escape from falling a victim to the plague during the last great epidemic at Vienna in 1713.

Charles, at the time of his leaving Vienna for Spain, had not yet completed his eighteenth year. An eye-witness who saw him during this journey at supper at Osterwick, in the territory of the Bishop of Halberstadt, gives the following description of him: "The king is of middling stature, of slight frame and thin legs; has large brown beady eyes, and eyebrows of the same colour; a long and nearly straight nose; and somewhat flabby cheeks, and hanging under-lip. The expression of his features is rather stern and melancholy, and he seems of an impatient temper; for whenever he seized anything, or cut his meat, or pushed away his plate, he always did it with a certain abruptness, which could not escape notice."

Charles travelled to Spain with a stately retinue, and

observing the strictest etiquette of the ancient court usages. According to a postmaster's way-bill, preserved by the Neapolitan tourist Dr. Gemelli Careri, this retinue comprised, independently of the large train of baggage which had been sent in advance, not less than 164 persons, 210 horses, and 47 carriages. The young king was accompanied by his lord chamberlain, Prince Antony Florian Liechtenstein, whom he had raised to the rank of a grandee of Spain of the first class; by four chamberlains, all of them counts; four generals; two royal pages of honour; four equerry pages (Reitpagen); the honorary chaplain of the king; two fathers of the Society of Jesus—one of them Andrew Baur, as his Majesty's confessor; the other persons belonging to the royal chapel; two body physicians; a surgeon; an apothecary; two cabinet secretaries; a comptroller; a keeper of the privy purse, with three assistants and a clerk; a purser of the household, with an assistant secretary; besides the attendant host of fouriers, garderobiers, tapissiers, perruquiers, yeomen of the bedchamber, stove-lighters, the keeper of the plate and table service, the cellarer, with assistants; the culinary staff, comprising a chief cook and twelve under-cooks; a clerk of the cellar and one of the kitchen; and, lastly, the valets, lacqueys, running footmen, and huntsmen.

With this enormous suite, Charles travelled by easy stages *viâ* Prague and Leipzig to Weissenfels, the brilliant court of Duke John George, of that side-branch of the house of Saxony. He there saw the Princess Caroline of Ansbach, afterwards queen of George II. of England. A marriage between himself and that clever and then beautiful princess was at that time contemplated; but the plan failed, owing to her refusal to change her religion. From Weissenfels the archduke went to the court of the Papist Elector Palatine John William, where he met with the Duke of Marlborough. After having stopped there for several days he went to Holland, and remained

for several weeks the guest of the States General. In Holland he was joined by Sir George Stepney, the English ambassador at the court of Vienna; who had preceded him, and who now passed over with him to England. On the 7th of January, 1704, more than three months after his departure from Vienna, he landed at Portsmouth, where he was received by the Dukes of Somerset, Devonshire, and Marlborough. On his road from thence to Windsor, where Queen Anne then resided, the pompous young monarch was disagreeably struck by what seemed to him the coarse familiarity and intrusiveness of the English populace; who would quite unconcernedly crowd round the Imperial carriage, and indulge in all sorts of noisy demonstrations of high glee, and, without let or hindrance, fire off guns in his honour. On the 8th of January, Charles slept at Petworth, a seat belonging to the Duke of Somerset; and was met there by Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne. On the evening of the 9th of January, Charles arrived at Windsor Castle. Here he was received, on alighting from his carriage, by the Dukes of Northumberland and St. Albans, and by the Earl of Harrington; the lord chamberlain, the Earl of Jersey, preceded him with a lighted torch up the staircase. The queen met the king at the top of the staircase, saluting him on both cheeks; and conducted him to her closet, through six rooms, lined not as usual with rows of yeomen, but with the most beautiful ladies, married and unmarried, whom the queen herself had selected. In the closet, the queen introduced to him each of the beauties separately. Charles, who felt as if transferred into fairy-land, honoured each of the ladies with a salute. At the supper, which was served with English profusion, the king sat on the right hand of the queen, Prince George being on her left. On the 10th, Charles was surprised, on his awaking, by an exquisite morning serenade. Before breakfast he had to receive the English nobility. It appeared

to him very extraordinary, that whereas at home every one was presented individually, he had here to receive the company *en masse*. Dinner again was served with the greatest profusion, and accompanied by a concert of instrumental and vocal music, which lasted during the whole afternoon. In the evening, the Spanish king played at basset with the English queen. At last he accompanied the queen again to her closet, where he took leave of her. Anne made him a present of jewels of the value of 50,000*l.*, and of bills on Lisbon to the same amount. But, whilst Charles had stayed at Düsseldorf several days, and in Holland several weeks, he passed at Windsor only one day. He left Windsor on the 11th of January, and took up his quarters at Petworth, as the guest of the Duchess of Somerset, to sail as soon as possible from Portsmouth to his new kingdom. The fleet, consisting of twenty-two ships of war, was delayed sailing, until the 18th of January, by foul winds; and, when it had started, a violent storm, which at that time raged over the whole of Europe, overtook it off Cape Finisterre, and compelled it to put back for safety to an English harbour; so that Charles, on the 30th of January, was back in Torbay. At the English court, he had been given up for lost. One courier after the other was sent to make inquiries after the young monarch, with a pressing invitation to Windsor until the wind should prove favourable; the queen sending her own carriage to meet him at Portsmouth: but Charles could not be induced to return to Windsor, nor even to set foot on English soil. He remained on board ship until the 17th of February, when the fleet again started from Spithead. But, as the weather once more became rough, they had to cast anchor off St. Helen's in the Isle of Wight; so that Charles did not reach Lisbon until the 7th of March, 1704. Here an army of 30,000 men, partly English and partly Dutch troops, assembled under the convert Prince George of Hesse Darmstadt. The fleets which had brought them,

were commanded by Sir George Rooke and the Dutch Admiral Callenberg. Charles, however, instead of placing himself at the head of the troops, idled one year and a half away at Lisbon; and thus *he completely put himself under the tutelage of the maritime powers.* On the 4th of August, 1704, Gibraltar was conquered; and on the 4th of October, 1705, the gallant adventurous Earl of Peterborough took, by one of the boldest *coups de main*, with but a few thousand men, the citadel of Barcelona; on which occasion the Prince of Hesse lost his life. Charles had a short time before arrived in the harbour of Barcelona, and had landed on the 28th of August. Instead of going straightway to Madrid, Charles tarried five long years at Barcelona, where, on the 1st of August, 1708, he celebrated his marriage with the beautiful Princess Elizabeth of Brunswick; who had come from Vienna by Milan. When, in 1706, Philip of Anjou, his rival for the crown of Spain, had left Madrid, Charles refused to go there for the most weighty and majestic reason — "that he had not as yet any state carriage to make his entry into the capital, and it would be contrary to all etiquette to do so without." On the other hand, he made, in that very same year, a pilgrimage to the miraculous image of Montserrat. Only after Guido Starhemberg had, on the 20th of August, 1710, gained the great victory near Saragossa, did Charles and his wife make with him and the English their solemn entry into Madrid. Thence, however, he was driven again by the Duke of Vendôme before the year was over. On the 15th of December, he was back at Barcelona, which once more was the centre of what he might call his in Spain. The Earl of Peterborough*, meeting at that time with the cynic Duke of Vendôme, who wore the portrait of Philip V., set with diamonds, suspended by a ribbon round his neck,

* The clever Duchess of Orleans said of him, "He is as shrewd as the devil; but hair-brained and odd, and talks without rhyme or reason."

whilst the earl had that of Charles VI. in his ring, said to the duke: "Are we not a couple of good-natured old pigs to fight it out for these two imbeciles? In whatever way matters turn out, Spain will have a bad king."

Charles, returning from Barcelona to Vienna, landed on the 12th of October, 1712, in Genoa. At Milan he was apprised of his election as Emperor. On the 22nd of December, he was crowned at Frankfort; and on the 26th of January, 1712, he made his entry into Vienna.

2. ACCESSION OF CHARLES VI.—PERSONAL NOTICES.—HIS WIFE, THE BEAUTIFUL ELIZABETH OF BRUNSWICK; AND HIS MISTRESS, THE SPANISH COUNTESS ALTHANN.

ALMOST the first public act of Charles as ruler of Austria was the laying on of a property-tax*, to be able vigorously to pursue the war against France, as England seemed resolved to throw its whole burden by a separate peace on the Emperor alone; a result which indeed was eventually brought about at Utrecht in 1713. The decree imposing that tax was, in the English and Dutch manner, countersigned by the Bohemian chancellor Count Wratislaw, who, as Imperial minister "of the army," had been frequently brought in contact with the governments of the maritime powers. But no sooner had he died in 1712, than the tax was represented to the Emperor as "impracticable and impossible to be raised;" whereupon Charles was content to fall back on the old way of replenishing his exchequer by a "don-gratuit;" for which object Sinzendorf went to Amsterdam to negotiate a new loan. The last Habsburger thus remained true to the hereditary evil of his race, a

* One per cent. on all moveable or immoveable property, and one per cent. also on every income, *to the exemption of no one, except the poor, humble peasant.*

dread of innovation, and even of the most undeniable improvement.

He nevertheless was a better ruler than the three devotees Ferdinand II. and III. and Leopold I. Spain had been for him a school of adversity; and the intercourse with the English and Dutch had enlarged the compass of his ideas, and abated somewhat of the traditional Austrian religious intolerance. Like his brother Joseph I., he curtailed the influence of the Jesuits; checked the persecution of the Bohemian Brethren; and upheld the freedom of religion granted to the Hungarian Protestants by the Treaty of Szathmar, in 1711. The reign of Charles VI. forms a period of transition from the bigoted zealotry of the last Habsburgers to the more liberal and joyous Catholicism of the rulers from the House of Habsburg-Lorrain. Under Charles VI., for the first time, the manifold abuses and excesses of the convents and monasteries were put down; the conventual superiors had henceforth to render account of their trusts; extravagant abbots and abbesses were put under trustees; no exemption was allowed from the superintendence and inspection of the bishops; the shocking abuses of the conventual prisons, which in many cases were a cover for the most incredible excesses of cruelty and revolting debauchery, were effectually put a stop to.

On the other side, he showed in all his manners and movements the same phlegmatic listlessness, of which his predecessors the Spanish-Jesuit Emperors since Rodolph II. had set the example. Spanish *grandezza* and starched pomposity never for a moment lost their hold upon him, even in the kindest manifestations of his really benevolent disposition. No one ever saw him laugh. Like his brother, he stuck most pertinaciously to the golden code of etiquette. At an interview with Frederic William I. of Prussia at Kladrup in Bohemia, in 1732, Charles acted up to the instructions of his ministers, "that in that interview his Imperial Majesty ought *on no account* to shake

hands with the king; the less so as this would be *res summæ consequentiæ* and injurious to the Imperial authority; and as, besides, it would cause the greatest surprise to the Kings of France and England." The principal passion of Charles was falconry and shooting. He was often out for days in all weathers, hawking, and tracking the wild fowl in the water or in the marsh, without heeding wet or cold. Moreover, he was, like his father and brother, very fond of music, being himself an excellent performer on the violin and the composer of several operas. The taste for collecting coins, for which others of his race before him were noted, had also devolved on him;—even in the Spanish campaigns, whilst flying from the battle of Almanza through the woods of Catalonia, he always carried with him a little box of the rarest specimens. Of the patronage which he bestowed on architecture, the noble structures with which the celebrated Fischer of Erlach adorned the capital in his reign bear remarkable evidence even to this day. Of painters, there are to be mentioned Ferdinand and George Hamilton, who, as his appointed court painters, executed for him those magnificent hunting pieces in which they excelled. Other sources of diversion for the Emperor were the processions and other festivities of the Church, which the Jesuits knew how to get up for him with great pomp; and also the law-suits sent in for decision to the Aulic Chancery; for his Majesty was an excellent Latin scholar, and very well versed in law. One gift of the lawyer, however, was completely denied to him, he had not "the gift of words;" nay, his Imperial tongue was so far from glib, that sometimes those to whom he gave audience did not understand one word of what he vouchsafed to say to them. One anecdote is very characteristic, illustrating on the one hand this defect, and on the other the length to which, notwithstanding the Emperor's stiffness, his favourites might go in the liberties they took with him. One of his daily companions was Count Vitus

Trautson, a very little man with a very large nose, whose pungent wit and transcendent rudeness were known all over the Empire. Trautson, being a canon of Passau, was once commissioned by his chapter to make some representations to the Emperor concerning the elevation of the see of Vienna into an archbishopric, which might possibly be ruinous to Passau. In such cases, the Emperor, like his father Leopold, used only to mumble some unintelligible words. Yet although Charles, violently shaking his head, wanted to close the audience, Trautson pertinaciously continued asking, "What does your Majesty say? I don't understand a word of all that mumbling." At length, the Emperor's patience was exhausted, and he declared that the bull was already in Vienna. Trautson replied in the genuine Vienna *fiacre's* slang, "Well, well; now I know what I am to tell my brethren. But mum, mum, mum, who in the world is to understand that?"

In Spain the love of woman shed a brighter light on the otherwise gloomy days which Charles VI. was doomed to pass in that country. He found there a wife, and — following the bent of the high society of those times, when the example of the French Court swayed all the others — a mistress.

His wife was Elizabeth of Brunswick, who, as Lady Mary Wortley Montague writes, "was admired for her beauty by many nations." One of her special charms was her maidenlike modesty and bashfulness; the effect of which was heightened by the dazzling whiteness* of her complexion; and nothing could exceed the beauty of her hands. Charles, when he saw her for the first time, in Barcelona, was quite fascinated by her appearance, and said that he could never have believed her to be so beautiful. In a letter of the Brunswick privy councillor Von Imhoff, who accompanied the princess to Spain, it is said,

* Charles used therefore to call her "White Lizzy" (die weisse Liesel).

"Le Roi aime la Reine si tendrement, qu'il ne peut être presque un moment sans elle, et dès qu'il a un peu de temps à lui il le passe avec la Reine, et il est autant *Frauenmann* (henpecked), que l'Empereur Leopold le fut." A despatch of the Russian envoy at Vienna, Count Podewils, mentions, "that she was thought to have entertained little affection for the Emperor; but that, as she always treated him as if she were very fond of him, her attentions and kindness had completely won his heart."—"Ambition," the letter adds, "was her principal passion. She was eminently a woman of sense, and possessed great firmness. She took an active part in the conduct of affairs without having the appearance of meddling with them, and frequently managed to turn them according to her own pleasure. With the public in general she was no favourite, as many people suspected her of not being sufficiently attached to the Roman Catholic religion, and of still harbouring heretical principles. Some even asserted that she continued secretly to read Lutheran devotional books."

The mistress of Charles, whom—notwithstanding his love for the beautiful Elizabeth—he in the French fashion took unto himself, was Marianna Countess Althann, called by the Viennese the Spanish Althann; by descent a Duchess of Pignatelli-Belriguardo, of a Neapolitan princely house, on which Charles, in 1723, bestowed likewise the princely dignity of the German Empire. Charles had made her acquaintance shortly after his arrival in Spain; and soon after his own marriage, when she was not more than twenty-one years of age, he married her to his friend the General and Imperial Chamberlain John Michael, Count Althann*, who thereby hoped to acquire a great position

* The family of the Althanns had immigrated from Swabia into Austria. They at first espoused the cause of the Reformation; but some members of the house soon returned to Popery. Among these was the great grandfather of the friend of Charles VI., Michael Adolphus, with whom originated the rule, kept up in the family to this day, by which all the male members of the house are called Michael, and all the ladies Maria.

at court. In this expectation he was not disappointed; his Imperial friend showered the richest favours upon him. Since 1716, Althann held the post of master of the horse to the Emperor; in virtue of which office, he and his Spanish wife were quartered in the same palace with their sovereign. Charles and the countess saw each other every day at an appointed hour. The Jesuits, "the Spanish priests," were greatly in favour of this Spanish connection; they even did not shrink from drawing a blasphemous parallel between the affection of the Emperor for the beautiful Althann and the divine love of the Saviour, and symbolising it by the wounds of the Lamb. The husband of the lovely countess only lived to the year 1722. He was a very wily courtier, and, among other things, was so much in favour of stupidity and ignorance, that once, in the presence of the Emperor, he broke out into a rapturous eulogium on these luminous qualities as being the best tools to work with. Charles replied, "It is a pity, Althann, you are not a king; bad horsemen can only ride sorry steeds."

Marianna outlived her wily husband by thirty-three, and the Emperor Charles by fifteen years, and enjoyed great distinction even from Maria Theresa. She was one of the most fascinating ladies of that time; radiant with beauty, elegance, cheerfulness, and good sense; and at the same time, a kind patroness of artists and men of science: it was she who brought, in 1729, Pietro Metastasio* as court poet to Vienna. Metastasio was said to have been united to her by a secret marriage. Certain it is that he was as passionately in love with her as Tasso was with Leonora d'Este. He entirely left Rome for Vienna, although the countess, when he came thither, was already forty years old. Metastasio lived to see the reign of Joseph II.; and died in 1782, at the age of eighty-four. The English tourist Swinburne,

* His real name was Trapasso, of which Metastasio is a Grecianised version.—*Transl.*

who saw him at court in 1780, speaks of him as a little sheepish-looking old abbé, with a sallow face and a flowing wig of a fashion fifty years old. The Countess Althann was the most intimate friend of the beautiful Hungarian widow Lorel (Lory) Batthiany, the friend of Prince Eugene.

Eugene was an object of decided aversion to Charles VI., but who consulted him rarely, although the prince died only four years before the Emperor. And yet Eugene alone had made the Emperor Charles VI. what he was: Eugene had been the restorer of Austria; Eugene had reconquered Hungary from the Turks for the House of Habsburg; Eugene had protected the dynasty against the insidious and destructive schemes of France. Had the plans of Louis XIV. succeeded, the Imperial crown would have passed to him or to the Dauphin; the Rhine Confederation, established, in 1658, by the Elector John Philip of Mayence, would have been revived; Hungary severed from Austria; the Tyrol—the key of Germany, Upper Italy and Switzerland—would have been added by Louis, in pursuance of an old plan of Henry IV., to the Helvetic Confederation. All these changes, and the emancipation of South America from the Spanish dominion; the conquest likewise, and colonisation of Egypt, which Leibnitz had proposed but Lionne resisted; and the destruction and the colonisation of Barbary, which was likewise projected, would have changed the face of the whole world. But at the Peace of Rastadt, which Prince Eugene concluded in 1714, Germany and Austria remained unharmed; and, although the German Empire gained nothing, Austria acquired the Spanish Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples.

3. PERSONAL NOTICES OF PRINCE EUGENE; HIS FRIEND HANS ADAM, COUNT LIECHTENSTEIN, THE AUSTRIAN CRŒSUS, AND HIS FEMALE FRIEND THE COUNTESS LOREL BATTHIANY-STRATTMAN; HIS ENEMIES PRINCE MANSFELDT AND THE COUNTS GUNDACKER AND GUIDO STARHEMBERG.

FROM the days of the battle of Zentha, in 1697, and of the Peace of Carlowitz, by which Hungary, after 150 years' alienation to the Turks, was brought back to Austria, Prince Eugene was the first man at the Imperial court; "in fact," Frederic the Great says, in the Introduction to the History of his own Times, "he was the real Emperor."

Prince Eugene of Savoy, born in 1663, was a scion of the side-branch of Carignan, which was founded by the youngest son of Charles Emanuel, who reigned at the time of the Thirty Years' War. The founder of this side-branch, Eugene's grandfather, and his father also, had been in the French military service, and had married French women. Eugene's grandmother was the sister and heiress of the last Count Soissons of the house of Condé; his mother, Olympia Mancini, was one of the nieces of the Cardinal-minister Mazarin. Eugene's father was, at the court of Louis XIV., commandant of the Swiss Guards and governor of Champagne. He died, after having been married sixteen years, in 1673, leaving Eugene then a boy of ten years.

Olympia Mancini, like Maria Mancini, who afterwards was forced to marry a Colonna, had been one of the numerous mistresses of Louis XIV. Having, however, been soon supplanted by Madame La Vallière, she revenged herself by a satire on the inconstancy of the king, and on some secret love-passages in the life of her more fortunate rival. Being, therefore, banished the court, she went to Brussels; a small pension having been assigned to Eugene

for his education at the French court. He was, as the youngest of five brothers, intended for the church; and had received, before completing his seventh year, the two abbeys of Casanova and of St. Michael de Cluse, both of them near Turin. But Eugene was at an early age attracted by the study of military science, and had chosen for his favourite book "The Life of Alexander the Great" by Curtius. He applied himself with great assiduity to the study of mathematics and fortification, and the celebrated Vauban spoke highly in his praise. Notwithstanding his delicate frame, he became an excellent horseman. He now asked for a company; but he was refused—people thought there could not be much in that little Abbé of Savoy. Louvois, the all-powerful minister of war, was prejudiced against him, and the king disliked his appearance. The monarch was annoyed at Eugene, because the youth, as was his wont, looked him full in the face; his Majesty, therefore, was pleased to affect a strong antipathy to his physiognomy. Louis behaved in the case of Eugene as Frederic the Great did in that of Loudon. Eugene left France with the words: "Well, then, I will not step again on French ground otherwise than as an enemy, and with the sword in my fist; I am not afraid but that I shall find another master, only do you take care to find some one to make head against me." Nine years after, in 1692, he was in a condition to say to his friend Prince Commercy, "Here I am then on French ground with the sword in my fist!"

Being refused a commission by Louis XIV., Eugene entered the service of the Emperor, in which his eldest brother, Louis of Savoy, already was. It was in May, 1683, shortly before the relief of Vienna, that he first made his appearance at the Austrian court. He was immediately sent as lieutenant-colonel to Hungary; and on the 12th of December of the same year, Leopold appointed him colonel of the Kuffstein dragoon regiment, which he commanded for fifty-two years, and which is called by his

name to this day.* Duke Charles of Lorraine and the Margrave Louis of Baden became his teachers in the art of war. In 1693, at the age of thirty, he was made a general-field-marshal. From a brown frock coat with brass buttons, which Eugene generally wore, his own soldiers used to call him "the Little Capuchin," until he won, in 1697, the battle of Zentha against the Turks. From that time dates his European celebrity. Louis XIV. at once offered him the marshal's baton of France, the government of Champagne, which his father had held, and a yearly pension of 2000 louis d'or. But Eugene refused everything.

Eugene was a small man, not at all handsome. His appearance by no means belied the country where he had received his education—it was completely that of a Frenchman. His complexion was dark, but remarkably clear; his face thin, long, and strongly marked by a large prominent nose, with nostrils like those of a horse. He wore his own black hair, with two small stiff curls: between his fiftieth and sixtieth years, when he began to turn grey, he assumed a large flowing wig. The only fine point about his face was his eyes; they were dark and full of animation. His glance electrified his soldiers, and won the hearts of the women. It would, however, have been difficult at first sight to recognise in him the great man; he even looked remarkably silly, had a trick of gazing into the clouds, and, like Frederic II., continually took Spanish snuff from his waistcoat pocket; which suggested to Pope the saying, that Eugene took as many towns as snuff. In his movements he showed an incessant restlessness, yet it was tempered by manly vigour and princely, dignified bearing; and in the intercourse with the world, he observed the most measured deportment, and even reserve. His impulses all came from within, and he never allowed them to be overruled by any extraneous cause. At the

* The fifth Austrian regiment of dragoons.—*Transl.*

first meeting, he was, in most instances, of chilly coldness, taciturn, and reserved. His temperament was tender and sanguine; and he was full of plans and ideas, which unceasingly occupied his mind. In the prime of life, he seldom slept more than about three hours. He possessed a remarkable instinct for reading the future. Whilst, in 1708, he was encamped before Lisle, he was, in the afternoon of the 14th of October, suddenly seized with an irresistible drowsiness. In this sleep he dreamed that he saw his mother dead in the trenches. The struggle to reach her awoke him. He told his dream to his adjutant; and soon afterwards, news came from Brussels that, at that same hour, his mother had died there. The courtiers at Vienna used to sneer at these fancies of Eugene. But he had an iron will, and a clear strong head; in fact, an Italian intellect, but a German heart, full of gentleness and sympathy. He was called "the Noble Chevalier;"* and chivalrous he was to the heart's core, as a lover, a friend, or an enemy. He was always noble, generous, and forgiving, a foe to all flattery and fawning obsequiousness; and he detested everything like untruth and falseness. He never made a promise which he could not keep. The winner of thirteen great battles, he was adorned by the most unaffected modesty. Moderation and disinterestedness, at that time the qualities rarest to be met with at Vienna, were prominent features of his character. Never did Eugene show the least jealousy of his great friend Marlborough; not even when the latter, after their joint victory of Höchstädt-Blenheim, received for his reward the Imperial principality of Mindelheim. His honesty commanded the respect of every one. He used to say, "honesty is not an indispensable, but it is the best quality of a true statesman." Villars, whilst he negotiated with Eugene the Peace of Rastadt,

* "Der edele Ritter." A popular ballad celebrates him under this name.—*Transl.*

wrote home to the minister of state, Torcy, "Nothing in my life ever gave me so much trouble as the necessity of not giving offence to the honesty of Eugene; for the character of the prince inspires every one with veneration."

Eugene was the greatest general whom Austria has ever had. By his victories of Zentha (1697), of Peter Waradin (1716), and of Belgrade (1717), he broke the power of the Turks for ever. At Höchstädt, in 1704, he, in conjunction with Marlborough, took from the French Bavaria and the whole of Germany; at Turin, in 1706, Italy; at Malplaquet, in 1709, — again in conjunction with Marlborough, — the Netherlands. No general has done more for Austria than he did.

Eugene made himself respected by the troops, and the common soldiers were heart and soul devoted to him. He liked to hear them singing on the march, and otherwise making merry. He would also now and then give them a treat out of his own pocket, if the Aulic Council of War had no money for them, which happened only too often. *By abolishing in his army promotion by seniority, he gained hundreds of the best officers.* He said: "Let the civilians keep up seniority as strictly as they like in their own offices; at last it will there also grow manifest, that it leads to nothing but confusion. *Advancement by seniority in the public service, is the most fruitful source of jealousy, wilfulness, and cabal.* It is a slow poison, which by degrees ruins armies and whole states. One ought to make every effort not to have one's hands bound by it."

Eugene made war with all the artifices of a shrewd mind. Like his brother-in-arms Marlborough, he always kept a number of well-paid spies. He was ever in favour of the attack, even when inferior in numbers; it was a maxim which he had learned from Prince Louis of Baden. He was inexhaustible in plans and devices to conceal his intention from the enemy, and to lead them astray. Villars only called him, "The man of *ruses* and of feints." He

never indulged in hopes; on the contrary, he used to say, that "hope was of no use, either in war or in poliey, but to paralyse aetivity." He usually guessed the plans of his opponents, whilst his own plans of attaek were exeeedingly simple. He himself told the eelebrated Marshal Sehulemburg that he had never given them in writing; exeept onee, at Turin, and then only at the speeial request of the Duke of Savoy. A few moments sufficed for his eagle glanee to survey a battle-field; after whieh his dispositions were just as quickly made. His orders were always very elear and concise. It was his opinion that a eouncil of war was held only when the generals did not want to undertake anything. When he gave the orders for a battle, he was often seen raising his eyes to heaven, and heard sighing," Ah, mon Dieu!" Then followed, after a pause, the slowly and calmly given word of command, "Avancez." In the thickest of the fire, he preserved the most admirable ealmness. He was thirteen times wounded in his battles for Austria.

His first great vietory against the Turks at Zentha, on the 11th of September, 1697, Eugene decided by giving his orders merely by some movements of his hands and eyes; whilst Sultan Mustapha II., who looked at the battle from the opposite banks of the Theiss, and who aetually kept on waggons the ehains for the Austrians—silver ones for the generals and a golden one for "the little generalissimo"—in readiness, had to his dismay suddenly to witness the utter discomfiture of his troops. After whieh he fled, in the disguise of a eommon Janissary, without stopping, until he arrived at Adrianople. Twenty-five thousand Turks, the Grand Vizier, and a great number of pashas were, on the day of Zentha, pushed into the Theiss, as Eugene, who attaeked them on all sides, had cut off their retreat. A despateh from Vienna having arrived just before the battle, Eugene, who guessed its contents, sent the eourier to the camp, telling him to "take good care of his letter, and to

rest himself." Four hours after the victory, Eugene opened the letter; it contained the order that he should most carefully avoid engaging the enemy.

Eugene, when hastening to the relief of Turin, perceived, on reconnoitering the country from a hill, an uncommon stir in the camp of the French, whose number was twice the strength of his own. He at once determined on giving battle (7th of September, 1706). The Duke of Savoy, his cousin, riding up to him, expressed his fears on account of the superiority of the enemy in numbers. Eugene, however, said, "But, *mon Dieu!* those people are already as good as defeated." The victory of Turin raised the popularity which Eugene enjoyed throughout Europe to its highest pitch. Even the English, who had their Marlborough, took the warmest interest in him; just as in this century they did not forget Blücher by the side of Wellington. When Eugene—in January, 1712, fourteen days after Marlborough's political downfall—paid a visit to London, the people crowded in such numbers at the landing-place, that he was unable to disembark, and had to sail up the Thames and to land at Whitehall Stairs, from whence he drove in a hackney coach to the hotel of the Austrian ambassador Count Gallas.

His greatest feat of arms, however, Eugene achieved at Belgrade, in 1717. Whilst he was besieging that town with 40,000 men, the Grand Vizier in his turn besieged the besieger with 200,000; Eugene's army, besides, was decimated by an epidemic. Then dawned the foggy morning of the memorable sixteenth of August (O. S.). Eugene, under cover of the mist, broke forth from his entrenchments; surprised the Turks; defeated them; and, two days after, Belgrade surrendered to him.

Eugene's fame had been so firmly established in the war of the Spanish Succession, that in 1707, whilst Charles XII. of Sweden was stationed in Saxony, a party of the Poles -at the suggestion of the Czar Peter, and with

the approbation of the Emperor—offered to the prince, who was just then at Milan, the crown of Poland. Eugene, however, did not enter upon the proposal, as he preferred to devote, as heretofore, his sword to the cause of Austria and of Germany.

Eugene—"Eugenio von Savoye," as he used to sign himself, in three languages, Italian, German, and French—wished to the war "*an Italian head, a German heart, and French legs.*" Although by birth an Italian and by education a Frenchman, he was most sincerely and warmly attached to the cause of the Emperor and of Germany; which did not, however, prevent him from heartily detesting the German sluggishness. Had not the many big wigs at Vienna over and over again clogged him by their constant shilly-shallying, cross-purposes, and waywardness;—and the other big wigs at the German Diet by their "*mal des Allemands*" (as he used to call the unfortunate querulousness of the Germans), and by the "*pot pourri*" of German pedantry (as his friend Marlborough termed the cumbrous etiquette of the German Diet);—he would permanently have set up Austria and Germany, as against the Turks, thus also against the French. "Eugene," it is said in a letter of Schulemburg's, communicated in his Memoirs, "wishes all to bow down before the name of the Emperor. He has no other hobby but to fight just as the opportunity offers."

Eugene always insisted that one ought to be beforehand in the attack with the enemy; and especially with the light-footed, active, and versatile French. When the maritime powers in the war of the Spanish Succession had left the Emperor in the lurch, the idea of a German national militia was ever present to his mind. Even after the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht, he, at an assembly of princes at Mayence, pledged his head that with a general levy of 200,000 German men, armed only with their agricultural implements, and with an army of 80,000 soldiers,

he would in the space of four weeks procure for the Empire a peace which it might enjoy for a whole generation.

How little Eugene was able to do within the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, may be gathered even from the last letter which we possess of his, written on the 5th of April, 1736, sixteen days before his death, to Count Charles Ernest Waldstein. A passage occurs in it: "A village mayor once said to me, 'Your Highness ought to know that you are standing here on the soil of the Holy Roman Empire, and that we won't allow ourselves to be bullied' (koranzen). Without asking for an explanation of this phrase, which I did not understand, I submitted to it with a low bow." In a Memoir of 1733, he wrote: "Germany knows no other interest but the law, sanctioned by the Peace of Westphalia, of discord and division, or, in diplomatic language, of *Itio in partes*."

In another place, Eugene thus expressed himself: "May Heaven forgive the Germans; for since the Peace of Westphalia they do not know what they are doing, still less what they want, and least of all what they are. There are some who assert that the men who crucified Christ had been Westphalians; and therefore probably we have been doomed for ever to chew the cud of this peace." General Count Seckendorf, the well-known Austrian ambassador to the Prussian court, having once made him a present of a fine Westphalian ham; he answered: "I thank you, but I cannot see Westphalian hams on my table; they always remind me unpleasantly of that peace by which the downfall of the German Empire was prepared."

In the year 1706, shortly after the battle of Turin, Eugene having heard that the Pope, notwithstanding his neutrality, had supported the French with money against the Emperor, wrote on the 14th of December from Milan to Count Strattmann in Vienna, "If the Pope can send to the French 30,000 doubloons, the conqueror ought not to be blamed when he asks 15,000 or 16,000 doubloons per

month for defraying the necessary expenses. I know the tricks and evasions of the neutrals much better than the court does, where the wolf always wears sheep's clothing. The monarch has given me no instructions to execute the commands, or as it is delicately expressed, 'the wishes' of a general of the Jesuits. Five letters which are in my possession, have proved to me how recklessly the Roman court is going on in its French partisanship. Langallerie will soon lay the evidence before the Emperor of how they in Rome will do anything for money. It is there just as with us."

Eugene then received from Vienna the copy of a letter of the Pope to the Emperor, in which the Pontiff taxed the prince with sacrilege. Eugene answered, "As I am now on the list of the depredators of the Church, I will so much the more strictly fulfil my duty as a commander; and I think I shall be deserving of absolution on my deathbed, if I can prove that, with the property taken from the Church, I have but saved my soldiers from starving, at the very time when, by orders of the Holy Father, the French—the allies of the arch-enemy of Christendom—were supplied with all necessaries; whilst everything was done to injure the Emperor, the protector of the Holy Roman Empire, and of Christendom. On the same day on which I was honoured with the copy of the Papal letter, I raised by execution part of the Papal contribution; and, as a priest never returns an offering, we soldiers can be even less expected to do so."

To these bitter sarcasms of the prince, his enemies the Jesuits, who felt not a little offended by them, answered in their own fashion. Whilst Eugene, in the autumn of 1708, after the battle of Oudenarde, was laying siege to Lisle, he received by post from the Hague a letter directed "A *Son Eminence* le Prince Eugene." This address at once roused his suspicions. On opening the letter, he found in the envelope only a grey paper, that had

been steeped in a greasy fluid, and which he coolly flung on the ground. Immediately after he felt dizzy. The same effect was produced by the letter on his aide-de-camp General Dopt, who happened to be present, and on the valet, as they together picked up the paper, and crammed it down the throat of a dog. The animal died very soon after, although a strong antidote had been administered to him. All the persons about the prince were exasperated at this vile attempt at assassination. Eugene, however, wrote to his friend Prince Adam Liechtenstein, 14th of October, 1708: "He who once for all has to rely only on God's protection, may laugh at such attempts. It is not the first of the kind which my *adversarii eminentissimi* have been pleased to make. They show that they have made good progress in the school of 'Marianism.'* If the rules of their refined Christianity permit them to dispose of the life of a regent by poisoning his saddle or his clothes, an old general may be well prepared to be unhorsed by a dose of *ism*. Now only I may flatter myself that I am a good soldier; the letter has given me courage to take Lisle, whatever may be the consequence." Lisle actually capitulated on the 23rd of October, 1708.

His good humour and calm serenity never forsook him. When, during his diplomatic mission to London, early in the year 1712, his nephew the Count of Soissons—at that time a boy of fifteen years—had at a street riot been crushed by the crowd; the Duke of Marlborough said to him at the funeral, "I wonder in what style we shall one day be put under the sods." Eugene replied, "Ambition will follow us to the grave laughing, and fortune weeping." "Of course," the duke quickly retorted, "if we be not too old for the lady already." Marshal Schulemburg, who was with him in the camp before Mons in 1709, once wrote of him: "Prince Eugene can hear anything without being

* Of the Jesuit Mariana.

angry, he is the happiest man in the world." A few days before his death, Eugene wrote: "Health and good humour are generally considered as the greatest happiness of man. As to my humour, my friends are pretty well satisfied with it; for I have always replaced good health by serenity of mind. I am quite aware that the want of health in a minister or a general is exceedingly injurious to the state, but it is not my fault that Heaven has so long tarried in relieving me from guard." The same agreeable humour is also manifested in the political writings left by the prince. They are Memoirs, Notes, and Letters; filling seventy-two quarto volumes, which were kept in the archives at Milan, and were afterwards taken away by the French. The Imperial librarian Von Sartori published, in 1819, eight volumes of them. These letters, notes, and memoirs are for the most part dictated by Eugene in French; M. von Sartori, however, preferred publishing them in his own German translation, which is very bad, often confused, and sometimes even downright nonsense. Any reader who peruses them with the least attention, will find the truth of this censure. I do not, however, believe that the book is intentionally falsified. His own autograph memoirs Eugene committed to the flames, because, as he said, "he could never have written the truth of the history of his life without showing two great princes in an unfavourable light; and, as the world might conclude from it that he had done so from a kind of revenge, all was fairly consigned to oblivion in the fire."

Eugene not only was one of the greatest generals—*one of the seven whose genius Napoleon recommended to be studied*—and in his religious views far in advance of his bigoted age; but he also was one of the most affable and kind-hearted heroes. The great buildings which he caused to be executed on his estates in Austria and Hungary, he undertook principally, to give the poor people employment. In 1714, when the plague was at its height at Vienna,

and the poor were nearly starving, since in the general dearth most people discharged their labourers, Eugene increased the number of his own, so as at last to employ as many as 1500. "It would be unchristian," he said, "to allow people who have to battle against death to fight likewise against hunger." From like generous motives, he began to build the palace of Schlosshof on the Hungarian frontier; the erection of which, as long as it lasted, is said to have cost him nearly 200,000 florins a year. The building being advanced as far as the prince had projected, his clerk of the works tried to persuade him now to discharge the many labourers, as he did not want them any longer. Eugene sternly replied, "Well, then, in this case you will not be wanted either."

The feature which more than others gives Eugene his exceptional place in history, is his having, like Marlborough, combined in his person the statesman and the hero. As a diplomatist, he was eminently successful in different missions to Savoy, and in the negotiations of peace at the Hague, in London, at Rastadt, and at Baden. It was he who, as soon as there was a prospect of the Spanish Succession, urged the Emperor to send the Archduke Charles in good time to Spain. It was he who most energetically opposed the conferring of the royal dignity on Prussia, and the *acknowledgment of the Imperial title of Russia.* At Rastadt and Baden, he mooted a plan of exchanging Bavaria, at that time a conquered country, for the Netherlands or Naples. He proposed the marriage of Maria Theresa with Frederic the Great; and when the idea was not entertained, he advised the princess to look to it that her father should leave to her a well-filled treasury, and the army in a complete state; which would be the best guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction. He even foretold the partition of Poland, which would not always find a Sobiesky. Eugene was perfectly alive to the irksome character of the alliance of the Emperor with the maritime

powers, which at a later period induced Prince Kaunitz to form the celebrated league with France. He wrote to Sinzendorf: "*England is wont to exact from her friends the strictest fulfilment of all their obligations, and thinks to have the privilege of arbitrarily dealing in the case of her own engagements. With traders one ought to speak but little; otherwise one has to pay them for their words besides their goods.*" After the conclusion of the war of the Spanish Succession, Eugene, therefore, began to lean towards France; and the French ambassador, the well-known gallant Duke of Richelieu, found, in 1726, that, "*les dispositions personelles du prince pour la France n'étoient pas mauvaises.*" Eugene already prepared what Kaunitz carried out after him.

With regard to the home policy, it is a very remarkable fact to see in several letters of Eugene precisely the same principles laid down, which were afterwards professed by the Emperor Joseph II., and in accordance with which that monarch undertook his reforms. Immediately after the Peace of Rastadt, the first steps were taken towards the improving of commerce and manufactures. Industry had been there in a very neglected state until the times of Charles VI. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu writes, in 1716, that the ladies of Vienna had to send for all the requisities of their toilet, even for their shoes, to the fair of Leipzig. At the instigation of Eugene, something was done at last. Merchants were attracted from the free cities of the Empire to Vienna. In 1714, the bank of Vienna, founded by Prince Hans Adam Liechtenstein, received a charter under the title of "*Kaiserliche Universal-Bankalität;*" in 1717, a trading company at Trieste; and, after the Peace of Passarowitz, in 1718,—which was accompanied by a very advantageous commercial treaty,—a new East India Company, obtained the Imperial Royal license.

But it is especially in the letters on the state of Hungary to the Palatine, Count Nicholas Palffy, that Eugene in some measure shows himself as the precursor of Joseph II.

Some passages from this correspondence will best show his liberal, and yet wise love of reform.

"In the conduct of public business also, one ought to follow the same course as nature does in her works, and not to try to govern before one has learned how to live. I wish that the Hungarians would occupy themselves with the cares of life only before they begin to legislate; for the spirit of the nation is not yet imbued with any regard for the law, and still less for legislation. Those who compose a code of law, have always to lay down as their foundation an equality of the rights of man. I find that the burdens of serfdom under which the wretched peasantry is completely crushed, and the monstrous exemptions of the nobility and clergy are first of all to be abolished; otherwise the laws will neither be in harmony with the present nor the future age. *When the general welfare of the country is at stake, the nobility and clergy ought to relinquish all those exemptions, owing to which the burdens of the state press with unequal weight on the different subjects. You know that certain principles, which are derogatory to the honour of the nobles and the clergy, alarm me just as much as a sudden hostile invasion would do.*" "*To us who are the first subjects it ought to be the first rule, to give a good example to the poor countryman, on whom so many burdens are already weighing.*"

The letters of the Duchess of Orleans contain remarkable hints as to the means, which the clergy and nobility, incensed at Eugene's hostility against those "certain principles," employed in making the Emperor distrustful and even jealous of him. On the 29th of September, 1719, she writes, "My daughter (the mother of Archduke Francis, who afterwards became the husband of Maria Theresa) writes to me, that Alberoni has made an attempt to have the Emperor *assassinated or poisoned;* for which purpose he gained over a Count Nimptsch *, a Silesian,

* He was married to the sister of that Count Althann who was the husband of the Emperor's Spanish mistress.

besides two Italian abbots: for in every evil deed some parson or other must needs have a hand." Referring to this plot, the duchess states, in a subsequent letter of the 26th of November of the same year, "Here Alberoni's partisans alone have been anxious to contradict the report of a conspiracy against the Emperor. Prince Eugene is quite right in not allowing such an ugly imputation to stick to him, and in prosecuting Nimptsch with all his might. I believe the prince to be perfectly innocent, for he is most disinterested. He has done a very handsome thing: having left many debts here, he had no sooner entered the Imperial service, and got some money, than he paid everything off to the last farthing; even to people who had no bond or handwriting of his, and who had forgotten all about it. A gentleman who acts thus honestly, is incapable of betraying his sovereign for money."

Towards the end of his life, his enemies tried to circulate a belief that his intellectual faculties were impaired; an assertion which is completely disproved by his letters. Yet the enmity of the Camarilla, and the envy and jealousy of the ignorant and greedy Imperial councillors, pursued him unabated to the day of his death; whilst he to the very last opposed, with manly honesty, the reckless luxury and extravagance of the profligate court. His even temper never forsook him for a moment. He bore all the intrigues of his enemies, as well as their open and clumsy attacks, with imperturbable equanimity and patience; and showed himself so forbearing to his colleagues in the field and in the cabinet, that not one case is known of his ever having taken revenge on his enemies.

Two of his most bitter enemies were Guido Starhemberg *, a cousin of Rüdiger, the heroic defender of Vienna,

* Prince Mansfeldt was descended from that Saxon house to which Eisleben, the native place of Luther, belonged. Guido Starhemberg was at the siege of Vienna, in 1683, aide-de-camp to his cousin; and on one occasion gave proof of the most extraordinary coolness. A covered wooden

and Henry Francis, Prince of Mansfeldt and Fondi, whom the Duchess of Orleans openly accused of having poisoned her stepdaughter Queen Maria Louise of Spain. Mansfeldt tried to cross every plan of Eugene's, during the war of the Spanish Succession; so that at last, in 1702, the prince offered his resignation. On which the Emperor made some change in the ministry, and Eugene got the administration of the finances of the army under his own control. Yet he soon met with new difficulties, which Mansfeldt succeeded in raising against him; and in a very stormy conference, in 1706, he was drily told, "That since the time of the Friedländer, the House of Austria had held to the *maxim of never giving the sword and the purse into the hand of one man.*" Mansfeldt died in 1715, when Eugene met with two new enemies and rivals in Gundacker Starhemberg, and in the supercilious secretary of state Bartenstein.*

passage, at forty yards distance from the powder magazine, having caught fire, in a very high wind; Starhemberg went there in person, and ordered the 1800 barrels of gunpowder to be drenched with water, so that the danger of an explosion was at once at an end. In 1688, at the assault of Belgrade, he was leading his regiment with the standard in his hand, when a mine sprung, and he was buried under a heap of earth; yet he managed to extricate himself. Having been sent with the news of the victory to Vienna, he was asked by the Empress how he had felt in that plight. "Well, your Majesty," Starhemberg replied, "I only cared for my standard, and my ears!" (The Janissaries used to cut them off.) He commanded as field-marshal in Spain, where, in 1710, he won the glorious victory of Saragossa. The Viennese said of him, "Starhemberg would not be startled by an earthquake, nor change countenance if the Kahlenberg (one of the hills near Vienna) came walking into Vienna to pay a visit to the steeple of St. Stephen."

* Bartenstein, one of the most influential men in the times of Charles VI., was born of Calvinist parents, in 1696; his father being a professor, and the minister of the Calvinist congregation at Strassburg. The son owed his rise to Gundacker Starhemberg; who afterwards bitterly regretted having paved the way for the upstart. He exchanged Calvinism for Popery; and, having aided Bessel in the falsifying of the testament of Ferdinand I., was made a baron in 1732. Although most greedy and iniquitous, he was, as a minister, incorruptible; that is to say, he allowed himself to be *paid*, but not to be *bought*.

Eugene had warm friends too. His most intimate one was Prince Hans Adam Liechtenstein, grandson of the first prince of the name; a man so rich that the people in Vienna generally believed him to possess the secret of making gold. He made a truly princely use of his immense wealth. Not only did he keep one of the most splendid houses in Vienna; but he also did more for the capital in the way of embellishment, than all the Austrian nobility together has ever done. Prince Hans Adam died twenty years before Eugene, in 1712, without leaving any sons; one of his daughters married in 1713 Prince Thomas Emanuel of Savoy.

In later years, Eugene had a most confidential and intimate friend of the other sex. The Viennese simply called her "the fair Lory." This lady was Eleanor, the rich heiress of Count Strattman, the all-powerful Aulic chancellor of the Emperor Leopold. She had become in 1692 the wife of the gallant Hungarian, Count Adam Batthiany, Ban of Croatia; but she lost her husband in 1703, just at the time when Eugene, having been appointed president of the Aulic Council of War, resided frequently at Vienna. For a quarter of a century, Eugene regularly passed his evenings at the house of the Duchess of Holstein, where he met the Countess Batthiany for a game at cards; or also at the countess' own house. Eugene's well known cream-coloured horses with pink harness used of themselves to find the way from the palace of the prince to that of the beautiful countess, where they would stop of their own accord; although now and then it was some time before any one alighted, because Eugene was asleep within the coach, the coachman asleep on the box, the heyduck asleep on the steps at the carriage-door, and the two footmen asleep in the rumble: the aggregate age of master and servants amounted to 310 years. The countess certainly had the greatest influence upon the prince. The Duc de Richelieu alludes to it in his Memoirs, in the fol-

lowing words: "*Le Prince Eugène avoit une confiance entière dans la Comtesse de Badiani; et comme elle étoit extrémement interessée et qu'elle avoit ramassé de grands biens, il falloit, pour lui faire des démarches la tenter par des objets beaucoup plus considérables que l'utilité qu'on pouvoit en retirer.*" She had for her factotum Augustine Thomas Weber, referendary at the Aulic Council of War, who was afterwards created a baron. Of this person, who was one of the many upstarts to be met with at Vienna, the historian Count Mailath gives the following notices: "He was a man of ordinary abilities, but quite at home in all the mole-tracks of craftiness. As he could not hope to get into favour with Prince Eugene by a straight way, he tried to do so by a crooked round-about path; insinuating himself with the Countess Adam Batthiany, who had great influence with the prince. Weber was just such a man as she was in need of. She was avaricious and haughty, and quite willing to use her influence in favour of *protégés;* whilst in return she expected money and presents, she was yet ashamed to confess it face to face with her clients and to receive the bribe with her own hands. Weber therefore became the channel through which the offerings were conveyed to her; and to reward him, she did everything to gain for him the good opinion of Eugene."

The beautiful Countess Lory Batthiany may perhaps, like all the gallant ladies of her time, have been guilty of too great a love for money; yet she was nevertheless a woman of a great heart. Hormayr communicates one very fine incident concerning her, which proves her to have been a zealous Hungarian patriot. After the Peace of Passarowitz, in 1718, when Eugene had been so signally victorious, there was once more a *coup d'état* against the Hungarians in contemplation. Eugene sent to the countess by a trustworthy officer a letter which contained the words: "How gladly my dear friend would I have redeemed my promise, and passed the carnival merrily at Vienna, encircling thy

brow with the laurels of my last battles, or, if you like it better, with the consecrated cap sent to me by the Pope; but unfortunately it cannot be this time, owing to secret orders enjoining me to remain with the army. *It is again intended to place Hungary on a Bohemian footing.*" On receiving this letter, Eleanor, who, as the widow of the valiant Batthiany, looked on Hungary as her own country, hastened to the Countess Marianna Althann. When the monarch in the evening called on the countess, both ladies received him dressed in the deepest mourning and bathed in tears. They adjured him to desist from the ruinous designs against Hungary; at least to hear Eugene, before he decided on anything. This had, until then, craftily been prevented by other people. Charles could not get out of it, the ladies were too strong for him; yielding to their joint entreaties, he wrote some lines which called Eugene to Vienna. Providing for this case, Eleanor had her travelling carriage ready in the court-yard of the Althann palace. She herself, in the cold winter night started off as courier. On the third morning, she arrived at the camp of Eugene. The prince immediately drove with her to Vienna, and Hungary was saved. At the Diet of Pressburg, in 1722, the Hungarian magnates acknowledged the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles, by which Maria Theresa was acknowledged as Queen of Hungary.

Another interesting anecdote of the countess has been preserved by the Prince de Ligne, in the "Memoirs du Prince Eugène." She was told one day of a report being circulated in Vienna that Eugene had married her. She replied: "As to that, I love Eugene too dearly; I'd rather have my own reputation damaged than damage his, and take advantage of his seventy years." Eugene, who heard of it, then said to her; "It might take place after all, if the little abbé were not older than twenty-five years, and if the lady were not so religious." "By no means," Eleanor answered; "it would be then just as it is now. I

am religious, in the first place, because I love God, believe in Him, and hope in Him; and, moreover, because I find in religion a safeguard for my peace, in case I should be deserted; for it would then be my consolation in the face of women who were still beloved. I am religious because I have no longer a fear, a hope, nor a wish in this life; and because the good which I have done to the poor from humanity, has been a benefit to myself and to my soul. But I detest those who affect the appearance of religion, or those who are religious merely with a view to their reward after death. Even if I believed that my soul would die with me, I should try to be good, and should act just as I do now. I am impelled, not so much by a fear of God as by gratitude for his benefits, and from love to Him; but I do not make a show of it, like those ladies who, to please the court, not to please Heaven, make a trade of their religion."

Eugene was, after a long interval, the first great man who again exerted himself to foster in Austria a taste for arts and sciences; which, during the long gloomy Jesuit period, had remained as if buried. Eugene was the friend and correspondent of Leibnitz, Montesquieu, and Boerhaave. Leibnitz lived in Vienna from 1712 to 1714; and there still exists a syllabus of the principal features of his system, expressly drawn up by the great philosopher himself for Prince Eugene. Like his friend Prince Liechtenstein, Eugene did much for the embellishment of Vienna by his buildings. His greatest monument was the huge palace called Belvidere, where the Imperial picture-gallery now is. His library and his collection of engravings, and especially his gallery of historical portraits, which are now embodied with the Imperial library, were among the most valuable in Europe. During his diplomatic mission in London in 1712, he was seen running about from shop to shop, purchasing curious manuscripts and books. Of manuscripts he possessed a most extensive col-

lection, and especially the celebrated Peutingerian tables. All the books of his library, containing nearly 15,000 volumes, which filled several large rooms, were bound in red morocco with gilt edges, by a Frenchman who was long unsurpassed in this art. His favourite works were — besides Curtius — Cæsar, Tacitus, and the writings of Sir William Temple. The poet Jean Baptiste Rousseau acted for some time as his librarian, and the celebrated Mariette collected his engravings for him. Eugene was much more fond of literature and the fine arts than of public business, to which it was not easy to keep him for more than four hours a day; but he used to work with great expedition. He wrote as little as possible himself; generally dictating all the letters of his very extensive correspondence with *savants*, statesmen, and soldiers, among whom there were not only some of his former brothers in arms, as Lords Marlborough, Stanhope, and Stair, but also some of his opponents, as Villars. His handwriting was firm, somewhat stiff, the letters very high, set in the French way, without hair strokes and dark strokes. Conversation was what he enjoyed best. He would argue for three or four hours on a subject. In peace and war, everybody had free access to him; but in his official receptions he was chary with his words, to avoid waste of time.

The youth of Prince Eugene, according to the letters of the Duchess of Orleans, was tainted with profligacy, and even with indulgence in those nameless excesses which were then rife at the French and other courts. At a later period, he liked to give himself up to the pleasures of the carnival at Vienna, Venice, and Stuttgart. He was once heard to say, that he would not easily intrust the command of a hundred men to any one who had not risked himself in the field of love. During his campaigns in Italy and the Netherlands he was accompanied by a beautiful Italian woman. But Eugene never was the slave of his pleasures.

In the autumn of 1735, Prince Eugene sent for his confidential man of business Koch*, who used to manage his private affairs. He said to him that he felt very weak; and that Koch therefore had better cast up all his accounts, so as to be safe from every chicanery after his death. This was the first time that Eugene had settled accounts with Koch, in whose honesty he had unlimited confidence.

On the 20th of April, 1736, there was a sitting of the privy "Conference Council" at Eugene's house. There was still some business to be dispatched; but he closed the meeting with the words: "It is enough for to-day, let us do the rest to-morrow; that is to say, if I live so long." After this he dined with a company of twelve. In the evening, he drove to the Countess Batthiany, where he played picquet until nine with her, and with Count Windischgrätz and the Swedish ambassador Count Tessin. He spoke less than usual, and breathed more heavily; being oppressed with a cold, from which he was scarcely ever free. The countess begged him to take medicine. "It's time enough to-morrow," he said; and drove home. Here he looked intently for some time at the portrait of the Emperor; and then went to bed, giving orders to his valet not to call him next morning before nine o'clock. When, at the appointed hour, the servant entered the chamber, the prince was still in bed with his head buried in his hands. The man, thinking Eugene still asleep, went away, and after an hour came again, when he found that his master was dead. The exact hour of his death could never be ascertained. Many had thought that the hero had died at three in the morning, because, at that time, the oldest of the lions in the prince's menagerie had, contrary to custom, uttered a tremendous roar.

* His son was secretary to the prince, and afterwards cabinet secretary to Maria Theresa.

Eugene had very nearly completed his seventy-third year. A few years before, in 1734, he had commanded on the Rhine the Imperial army against France; making war, it is true, rather by marches and counter-marches than by battles. Frederic II., who by the side of Eugene was, near Philipsberg, for the first time under the fire of cannon, the thunders of which the old hero there heard for the last time, said that it had only been "the shadow of the great Eugene."

Eugene, who wedded the arms of Austria again to a much finer glory than Alba, Tilly, or Wallenstein had gained for them, was buried with all the honours of a prince of the Imperial House. Sixteen field-marshal-lieutenants carried the coffin; and the Emperor himself accompanied the funeral as a private mourner to St. Stephens. Eugene died unmarried: but he was thought to have been the father of the two sons of the Countess Batthiany; Louis, who, in 1751, became Palatine of Hungary, and Charles, field-marshal and minister, who, in 1763, was raised to the dignity of a prince of the Empire, and became the governor of Joseph II. Maria Theresa used to call these Batthianys only "Eugene's codicil." His principal heiress was his niece Princess Anna Victoria de Soissons, married to that prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen who ingloriously ran away near Rossbach. From her the Emperor Francis I. bought the lordship of Schlosshof, and Maria Theresa the Belvidere Palace. Eugene's menagerie the princess presented to the court, and his library was embodied with the Imperial one.

4. THE COURT OF VIENNA UNDER THE LAST HABSBURGERS.—CEREMONIAL AND ETIQUETTE.—CARNIVAL, HUNTS, ORCHESTRA, AND THEATRE.—FRAUDS.—THE ARMY.—FINANCE.

THE Austrian power under the three last Emperors of the direct Habsburg line, was a conglomerate of most

heterogeneous and loosely connected elements. But, although being utterly deficient in organisation, it was very solid and substantial. This unwieldly but mighty body, merely owing to the principle of gravitation by which it was impelled, possessed a certain *vis inertiæ* which made Austria weigh very heavily in the balance of European politics. Since the great religious war, the endeavours of the Jesuits and Capuchins had succeeded in again reducing the whole country to a state of strictly passive obedience. The people of Austria, apart from the nobility and clergy, was now ruled with as absolute sway as Spain and France.

The people was taught to look upon this blind obedience as a sacred duty of the subject; and thus it was, by its monkish training, more and more withdrawn from any interest in higher and intellectual pursuits. On the other hand, the government—that is to say the clergy and nobility—allowed the people to revel freely in all the pleasures of exuberant and full-paced sensuality; to which the natural fertility of the soil kindly administered, and in which the good-natured race that inhabits those beautiful provinces—it is true with the exception of Bohemia—by degrees began to feel very comfortable and satisfied. Among the blandishments of this easy life, the people, after having so enthusiastically, and even fanatically, rushed into the religious movement, again submitted to Popish, and with it, to absolute rule. Ever since that reaction, the Austrian people has been imbued with a spirit of eastern submissiveness, which manifested itself most unmistakeably again after the political disturbances of 1848. The punishment also with which any attempt at disobedience is visited in the Imperial states, bears that oriental character, being neither more nor less than flogging. The normal amount of this Austrian bastinado, which indeed has become quite emblematical of the patriarchal rule of the Cæsars, consisted of twenty-five lashes administered with a cane on the seat of honour. Thus the good-natured people would,

without demur, do what the court bid them. As to the rest, his most gracious and invincible Imperial Majesty was quite content to live and to let live, whilst himself was worshipped in the Hofburg of Vienna like a god upon earth, who was only to be approached within a reverential distance. Here he was waited upon with almost oriental pomp, all the minutiæ and details of the ceremonial being most strictly prescribed by rule, and scrupulously carried out.

To the Emperor and the Empress, and to the whole Imperial family, belonged, as a distinction, "the Spanish reverence;" which was performed by bowing profoundly and dropping on one knee. The rule even went so far that the name of the head of the Empire, in public solemnities and orations, was never to be pronounced without the "Spanish reverence." To the other persons of the court, lords as well as ladies, the "French reverence" was due. His Imperial Majesty also granted to the electors this French reverence, consisting of *half* a bow, whereas the electors on their side had to perform the Spanish reverence. When Augustus the Strong, of Saxony, in 1695, came to Vienna, to take the command in the Turkish war; the Imperator Leopoldus and the King of the Romans Josephus, drove to receive him as far as the bridge of the Danube. The elector then advanced *thirty* paces to meet their Majesties, and they on their part advanced *ten*. Augustus then entered the carriage with Leopold and Joseph, and drove with them, sitting on the hind seat, to the Favorita, where he dined with the Emperor and the king, "on the side of the Empress;" that is to say, in her apartments. After which he was driven back in an Imperial carriage to his own quarters. After four weeks only, just before the elector went to the army in Hungary, their Majesties returned the visit, and the elector received them at their carriage-door with uncovered head. In departing, the Emperor doffed his hat when half-way down

the staircase, and took leave at the carriage-door with the French reverence.

In the interior of the Hofburg, the most strictly measured *grandezza* reigned paramount. It was a strange medley of Olympic revelry, of Spanish monastic severity, and of the rigorous discipline of a barrack. The pleasure garden, the Prater, was an imitation of the Prado of Madrid. It had originally been a hunting park, established by Maximilian II. and Rodolph II. Leopold I. and Joseph I. reserved it for the court and the high nobility. Every year, in April and in May, the Emperor, followed by the court, took, in the Spanish fashion, his drive quite slowly and gravely. As soon as the court had removed to Laxenburg, the Prater was closed. The language of the court was Italian, or else — the broadest Vienna jargon.

The court costume was Spanish, the predominant hue being black; the Imperial liveries, according to the armorial colours (a double-headed eagle, sable; on an escutcheon, or), black with yellow bourdon, in the Spanish fashion. The head coachman alone always wore a yellow velvet pelisse and a yellow velvet cap with a white plume on it. All the court carriages were black; the Emperor only drove in his red "body coach." The Emperor and all the courtiers wore the Spanish dress, with short Spanish cloaks, all black, with point lace; a Spanish hat turned up on one side and surmounted by a plume; red stockings, and red shoes. On gala days his Majesty wore a gold brocade, or a scarlet and gold embroidered dress. The feathers of the plume were of different colours, white, red, and black; on the occasion of the investiture of the first Elector of Hanover in 1692, it is recorded that the Imperial hat was decorated "with a small blue plumage." The only article of dress borrowed from France was the powdered flowing wig, which Leopold I. already wore in his time.

Great extravagance was carried on in these wigs: there were actually perukes of a thousand dollars; yet no one,

except his Majesty, was allowed to make his appearance at the Hofburg wearing any sort of wig; the courtiers were granted the privilege of wearing them only in the country, at Laxenburg, and at the Favorita. There the Emperor, as well as the courtiers, were dressed in the German fashion, and on the whole there was much greater liberty. In the French dress,—especially in white silk stockings,—even during the time of Charles VI., no one dared to show himself at the Hofburg. The Emperor, as often as he saw any one attired in that way, would at once cry out, "Here is one of those confounded Frenchmen." On the other hand, the hussar officers presented themselves at court in their uniforms as far as to the girdle, their nether man being encased in the orthodox shorts, stockings, and shoes. The high nobility alone wore jewellery; according to regulation, the only mark of distinction for the lower nobility was the red heels. We may add besides, that the French fashions found entrance at the court of Vienna only as late as in the time of Maria Theresa; and that the military uniform was not seen there until the times of Joseph II. But it created no small sensation, when Joseph II., in 1765, after the death of his father, for the first time, showed himself on the throne attired in regimentals. Joseph himself, on leaving his cabinet, was heard to say, "*My Lord Chamberlain will faint when he sees this.*"

All the year was strictly apportioned at the court of Vienna. Every festivity at court, as well as every festival of the Church, was unalterably fixed in advance. There were, in every month of the year, three sorts of solemnities, at which the court and the diplomatic body had to bestir themselves. In the first place, gala days, that is to say, birth and name days, when the court was admitted to kiss hands and to see the Emperor dine. Secondly, the "Toison days," when all the knights of the Golden Fleece, in their dresses, hats, and cloaks of crimson velvet, embroidered

with gold, appeared at mass and at vespers. And, lastly, there were the "devotions," exequies, festivals, saints' days, and such like. If on these occasions the Emperor went on foot, the ministers and ambassadors, and also the Papal Nuncio,—the latter alone with covered head,—preceded him. After the Emperor followed the Empress, led by her mistress of the robes, who, in touching her mistress, covered her hand with her Spanish cloak; and then came the archduchesses; and after them the rest of the *cortége*, ladies and cavaliers. This duty of sharing in the public devotions of the Emperor seems to have been anything but edifying to such gay ambassadors as, for instance, the *galant* Duc de Richelieu. He pours out his griefs in a letter to Cardinal Polignac, after the Lent devotions of the year 1726, in the following words:—

"J'ai mené ici une vie pieuse pendant le carême, qui ne m'a laissé libre un quart d'heure par jour, et j'avoue que si j'avois connu la vie que mène ici un ambassadeur, *rien, dans la nature, ne m'auroit determiné à accepter cette ambassade,* où sous prétexte d'invitations et de représentations aux chapelles, l'Empereur se fait suivre par les ambassadeurs comme *par ses valets de chambre. Il n'y a qu'un Capuchin, avec la santé la plus robuste, qui puisse résister à cette vie pendant le carême.* Pour en donner une idée à votre Eminence j'ai été de compte fait, depuis le dimanche des Rameaux jusqu'au mercredi d'après les Pâques 100 heures a l'église avec l'Empereur."

His Eminence, in his answer from Rome, consoles the Duc in the following terms:—

"Sur la peinture que vous m'avez faite de la manière dont vous avez rempli tous les devoirs de carême et de la sainte semaine, et de Pâques, je crois ne pouvoir *que de vous féliciter d'en être sorti: peut être n'en aviez vous jamais fait autant de votre vie.* Imaginez vous précisément la même chose d'un cardinal à Rome. *Il est vrai que nous* (*autres*) *sommes payés pour cela.*"

Baron Pöllnitz, the well known tourist, who saw the court of Charles VI. in 1729, describes the daily routine observed there as follows:—

"As soon as he (the Emperor) has left his bed, he causes himself to be dressed. He then reads any despatches that may have come in, gives audience to one or other of the ministers, or presides at a council. From thence he goes to mass, either at the chapel, or, on festivals, in a church. After mass, he returns to his apartments, and then stays until dinner at the so-called 'retiro.' As soon as dinner is served, the first chamberlain reports it to the Emperor; who repairs to the dining-room with the Empress, the latter being attended by all her ladies. The Imperial table did not seem to me served in particularly good taste; the silver and gold plate is old, and the dishes are placed without symmetry. Each of their Majesties having meats of their own, very small plates are served; on the other hand, I have not seen on the table more than five or six table spoons. As soon as the Emperor is seated he covers himself. A chamberlain presents the wine, after which the Emperor and the Empress pledge each other. This being done, the lord steward, the lord chamberlain, the master of the horse, and the captain of the guard approach to receive his Majesty's orders for the afternoon. The same is done by the ladies and officers of the Empress. All then retire. The dinner very rarely lasts longer than an hour. Their Majesties remain sitting at the table until everything, even the cloth, is removed; another cloth is then laid, and the first groom of the plate-chamber (Silberkämmerling) places a silver-gilt basin and cover on the table. The lord steward presents the napkin to the Emperor, the lady of honour to the Empress. Thereupon their Majesties retire to their private apartments.

"In the afternoon the Emperor and the Empress frequently drive out to a hunt or to a shooting match. The

Emperor, immediately on his return, gives audience to such persons as may have applied through the first chamberlain. These audiences are quite unceremonial, the chamberlain on duty acting as usher. The Emperor stands with covered head under a canopy, leaning on a table, and with a chair by his side. On entering and departing, the three usual genuflexions are performed. The audiences with the Empress are conducted in the same manner; one of the ladies of honour stands at some distance, so as not to be able to overhear the conversation, and the lord steward remains outside in the ante-chamber. There is some abuse connected with these audiences at the court of Vienna—the lower menials afterwards come to you and ask you for perquisites.

"The audiences being over, the Empress goes to what is called her mirror-room. Here she finds the ladies, who each in their turn kiss her hand; after which her Majesty sits down with them to the card-table, where they all take their seats without any distinction of rank. At these small parties, no gentlemen are admitted except the Emperor, the princes of the Imperial family, the lord chamberlain, and the lord steward. There are no days set apart for the *apartements* and *cercles;* the ladies merely send to the mistress of the robes to inquire whether they may present themselves, and then they come at the appointed hour.

"About supper time, the Emperor comes, and then the game ceases. The Empress rises, and those ladies who are not invited to be present at the supper kiss her hand and retire. Their Majesties then sit down to table. The supper is the exact counterpart of the dinner, only that it is always served in the apartments of the Empress. The table is lighted with only two tapers, which are removed three or four times. This office devolves upon one of the maids of honour. Before taking the taper off the table, she drops a low curtsey; then gives it to the silver groom to snuff; after which she places it with another curtsey on

the table. After supper, water for washing is presented to their Majesties; the mistress of the robes or a lady of honour handing the napkin to the Emperor, and a maid of honour to the Empress. When the archduchesses sup with their Majesties, the water is presented to them in the same basin as to the Emperor, and the napkin by a maid of honour. As soon as the Emperor rises from the table, the two archduchesses present to him his hat, and to the Empress her fan and gloves. In their absence, a lady of the bedchamber and a maid of honour perform this function. After this, the ladies, who have assisted at the supper standing, kiss the hand of the Empress whilst the Emperor is proceeding from the supper-room to the mirror-room. As soon as their Majesties have both arrived thither, everybody retires."

The Emperor Charles VI. generally dined with the Empress, who sat on his left, in what was called the privy-council room (Geheime Raths-Stube), on an *estrade* raised one step above the floor, under a canopy. The dinner hour was one. If the Emperor dined in state, he was surrounded by his archers and halberdiers. The stewards (Truchsesse), in Spanish dress with cloaks, carried the dishes to the table; then there was the first groom of the kitchen, who arranged the dishes on the table; the usher with the wand, who preceded the stewards; the groom of the plate-chamber, and several other chamberlains; two carvers; and two cup-bearers, who poured out the wine kneeling. A dish had to pass through the hands of twenty-four persons before it reached their Majesties. The Emperor dined with covered head; only whilst grace was being said, and when the Empress drank his health, he took off his hat. At table the ambassadors and also the Papal Nuncio were in attendance, standing, but likewise with covered heads; and they only retired when the Emperor had taken his first draught of wine. On Sundays and feast-days, the Emperor's band played during dinner.

No one, not even an elector, was admitted to dine with the Emperor, or, to use the official term, "on the Emperor's side." The Elector Augustus the Strong of Saxony, in 1695, passed four weeks in Vienna, but never dined on the Emperor's side. If a prince of whatever house it might be was to be invited, it was only to supper, or, in official language, "to the Empress' side." There was less constraint in the apartments of the Empress, where generally very fine music was played during the meal, and on the whole, much gaiety prevailed. Yet it was an unalterable rule of etiquette, that even on the side of the Empress no minister could be invited to the table unless he were a cardinal. When Augustus of Saxony supped there, he, with the assistance of a lady of the bedchamber, who brought the basin and ewer, handed the napkin to the Emperor. The Emperor having pledged him, he drank the health of his Imperial host standing; but, when he pledged the Emperor, his Majesty only answered by a gracious nod.

The court under Charles VI. resided alternately in three places, the Hofburg, Laxenburg, and the Favorita. The residence from October to April was at the Hofburg. This castle is described by a tourist of the year 1704, "as being of mean appearance, especially the inner court-yard, with the apartments of the Emperor; the walls thick and ponderous, like a city wall; the staircases dark, without any ornament; the rooms low and narrow, the flooring of common deal, meaner than which could not be found in the house of the humblest citizen. All is as plain as if it were built for poor friars. On a small spot called 'the Paradise Garden,' fenced in with walls, under the windows of the apartments of the Empress, some flowers and shrubs drag on a stunted existence." This "Paradise Garden" was done away with only in 1809. The Hofburg—at that time still bearing quite a mediæval character, so much so, that the pages in the Imperial ante-chamber

had wooden forms for their seats—was the place where the carnival was celebrated. Its amusements consisted in balls and ridottos, comedies and operas, fireworks, sledge parties, and "taverns" at court. At the sledge parties, it was customary for the gentlemen to draw lots from a hat, in the shape of papers on which the name of the lady was written whom each had to drive. The Duc de Richelieu, however, states in his Memoirs, that as far at least as himself was concerned, the givers of the parties had always previously asked him as to which lady he wished to have for his partner; whereupon the ticket with her name was made over to him, so that he had it already in his hand when it came to his turn to draw his lot from the hat. Owing to this management, he had always the lady of his own choice to drive and to sit by at supper. The amusement most popular at court was the "taverns," at which the Emperor and his Imperial spouse acted the part of host and hostess, and the whole nobility and the strangers appeared in masks. The custom was that every gentleman provided the fancy dress for his lady. These masquerades were very gay, their Imperial Majesties setting the example. As the exalted hosts were considered to be *incognito*, there was no danger of compromising their dignity. Besides these, there were the so-called "merendas," consisting of a supper and a ball. They were very frequent. Supper was served only at two o'clock in the morning, and dancing began at three and continued until broad daylight.

Games of hazard were strictly forbidden at the court of Vienna, and did not become the fashion until under the Emperor Francis I.; who caused a faro bank to be established at the French theatre. Charles VI. only played at hombre, at very low stakes, a florin per point. Besides hombre, he was a great lover of billiards, at which the Empress Elizabeth also sometimes played with him.

Ash Wednesday completely changed the scene. The

riotous gaieties were succeeded by the devotions of Lent, with its matins, low masses and vespers, its processions and pilgrimages. Mid Lent, according to a very ancient usage, was marked by a quiet little sport of driving the fox and drawing the badger in the Prater. During Holy Week, the celebrated large procession on asses' backs to the Calvary at Herrnals took place.* The long road from the Hofburg to Herrnals was divided into the different stations of Christ's Passion. All the persons forming these processions were masked and mounted on asses; there were to be seen the Wise Men of the East, Herod and Pilate, the Virgin Mary and Joseph, the twelve Apostles, Mary Magdalen, and all the other characters of sacred history. The road was covered besides with crowds of people flagellating themselves, wearing black boards with a list of their sins on their breast, dragging heavy chains along, and carrying ponderous crosses on their backs. These persons were likewise all of them masked. Half of the inhabitants of Vienna went out to join in the devotions of the holy season; yet, if we may credit the statements of some tourists, there was a good deal of very profane love-making mixed up with these pious practices. On Maundy Thursday, at the Hofburg, the Emperor washed the feet of the twelve oldest men of the monarchy. On Good Friday, all the court went to pray at the holy sepulchres in the churches and in the Hofburg. The townguard, on that day, wore their arms reversed.

After Easter, from April to June, the court went to Laxenburg. It was rather a remarkable custom, that when the Emperor started for this yearly pleasure trip, he was followed not only by the whole of the court, but also by most of the officials of the different government chan-

* This was the annual procession established by Ferdinand II. as an atonement for the first Protestant sermon having been preached at Herrnals, the estate of the Jörgers.

celleries. These gentlemen were quartered in the villages and hamlets round Laxenburg, and were thus enabled to enjoy the fresh country air in spring. Laxenburg was the favourite resort of Charles VI. The court engaged there in the noble sport of hawking. According to the "Vienna State and Quality Gazette" (Staats- und Standeszeitung) of 1727, there were quarried by the Emperor's hawks at Laxenburg, during the season of 1726, 278 heads of herons, kites, hares, wild ducks, pies, crows, ravens, and rooks.

In the early part of July, the court betook itself to another pleasaunce, the "Favorita," situate in one of the suburbs of Vienna; and there it stayed until October. The amusements at the Favorita consisted in shooting-matches and the pleasures of the chase. There were every summer two grand battues of stags, and in the autumn one of wild boar.

The Imperial shooting-matches regularly began on St. James' day (25th of July). The Emperor selected the persons who were to shoot with him, the Empress, and the two archduchesses. The prizes of plate were in the first instance given by the Emperor. The persons who carried off the two highest prizes, had to arrange the next match, and to furnish new prizes for it. Thus it went on from week to week, to the end of the season. Whilst in these matches some of the nobility were allowed to take an active share, the chase was strictly exclusive; here no one was allowed to shoot except the Imperial family and the professional huntsmen. All the amateurs were even forbidden to wear green suits and hangers; nay, the Emperor himself submitted to this regulation, to preclude every chance of any one's mistaking the proper huntsmen. Charles VI. and his Empress Elizabeth were passionately fond of the sports of the chase; the Empress, besides, had the character of being a capital shot. She and the two archduchesses Maria Theresa and Maria

Anna, attended the chase in "amazon" habits. The stag and boar hunts were battues; the Emperor and his family standing under a round canopy, called the Imperial screen, from whence they shot at the game driven towards them by the beaters. At the close of the sport, the lord ranger came up with all the huntsmen, who merrily sounded their horns; all the royal personages then had green bows presented to them, which, however, according to etiquette, the Emperor and Empress alone fastened to their hats. After this, they went to table. Charles VI. particularly liked shooting birds with the rifle; for which purpose he drove out early, and stayed until late. On these occasions, he dined in the woods.

The etiquette at the Imperial hunts was just as strict and exclusive as at the Imperial table. Two hunting pages once got into disgrace for having dared at a boar-hunt near Pressburg, where the Emperor's life had been threatened by an infuriated boar, to draw their hangers for his Majesty's protection. This being a most flagrant breach of etiquette, the young gentlemen not only were severely reprimanded, but also put under arrest for a fortnight in the "green closet" At another hunt, a young baron, Von Ursenbeck, was even more unfortunate. Having, under circumstances of particular urgency, ensconced himself in the thickest of the forest, where he might have thought himself unobserved, ill luck would have it that his Imperial Majesty got a view of him on the wrong side. The ill-starred youth was never allowed again to show his face at the court of the Cæsars.

Ever since the times of the Emperor Leopold, the court of Vienna boasted an excellent orchestra. Its principal leader under Charles VI. was the Styrian Joseph Fuchs, the author of the celebrated "Gradus ad Parnassum;" a work which, even by the Italians, was long considered as the first authority on thorough base. Fuchs died in 1735. The conductor of the orchestra was the Italian Antonio

Caldara, of the great Venetian school of music, the last of the succession of illustrious composers of church music which dated from Palestrina. His compositions already bear that theatrical stamp which has ever since remained the prominent characteristic of Italian church music. Caldara died under Maria Theresa in 1763. The whole of the Imperial "chapel" consisted of 110 persons, thirty-six of whom were vocal, and seventy-four instrumental performers. Most of them were Italians. The yearly expense of the "chapel" under Charles VI. amounted to 200,000 florins. Some of the singers and performers received as much as 6000 florins per annum; double the pay of a colonel in those times.

In this chapel was developed that grand style of chamber and concert music, which afterwards reached its highest perfection in the greatest of German composers—Mozart and Beethoven.

At the court concerts, two of which regularly took place on the birth- and name-days of the Emperor and Empress, his Imperial Majesty would often lead the band in person, and noblemen and ladies of the highest rank perform on the different instruments. In the ballets, the two archduchesses also took a share. The director of the operas was Prince Pio, a well-known enthusiastic lover of music. The librettos were composed by the celebrated Metastasio, who since 1729 was the poet laureate of the court of Vienna. The soprano parts were still sung by eunuchs. The operas were got up with the greatest splendour; the expense for the *mise en scène* of a new piece being never under 60,000 florins. Lady Mary Wortley Montague, during her stay at Vienna in 1716, saw in the garden of the Favorita the representation of an opera,—"The Enchantment of Alcina,"—the decorations and costumes for which were said to have cost 30,000*l.* sterling. There was free admittance to the Imperial opera, all the expenses being paid by the court. Particular boxes were reserved

for the courtiers and the guests of the court; the latter, who were quartered on the citizens, sometimes were gallant enough to take the wives and daughters of their landlords to their boxes.

But at the operas also the strictest etiquette was observed. During the visit of the Elector Augustus in 1695, the Emperor and Empress sat on an *estrade* in front of the stage, on armchairs covered with red velvet; behind them, at some distance, was the chair of the elector. During the representation, two pages knelt by the side of the Emperor and Empress, with fans to cool the air about their Majesties; to the elector a fan was handed, that he might perform himself the same operation for his own benefit. The King of the Romans and all the archdukes and archduchesses sat on the stage itself.

According to Küchelbecker, not less than 40,000 persons belonged to the court of Charles VI. Of these 2,000 were on permanent pay and active service; the rest were such as had court titles only, and the superannuated officials. The court was organised in six different staffs (boards).

1st. The staff of the lord steward.
2nd. Of the lord treasurer.
3rd. Of the lord chamberlain.
4th. Of the master of the horse.
5th. Of the lord high ranger.
6th. Of the lord high falconer.

The chiefs of these six "staffs" bore, like the privy councillors and general officers, the title of Excellency. Under these staffs, a whole bevy of lower offices were grouped. One of the most richly endowed branches was the kitchen and cellar department. It was well known that the half of Vienna lived on the Emperor's kitchen and cellar. A system of the grossest fraud prevailed through the entire administration of the Imperial household. For the single article of *parsley*, 4,000 florins were set down in

the kitchen accounts. For the night-cup of the Empress Amalia of Hanover, the wife of Joseph I., twelve cans of Hungary wine, and for each of her ladies, six, were reckoned *per day*. For soaking the bread of the parrots of the Empress Elizabeth, there were reckoned every year two casks of Tokay; and for their bath, fifteen hogsheads of Austrian wine.

None of the higher officers at court were richly paid except the lord steward, who received 68,000 florins per year. This was quite natural, as the high Austrian nobility served for the sake of the honour only. Yet, notwithstanding all this, those great lords did not disdain certain perquisites. Thus, for instance, every newly appointed chamberlain having to pay to the lord chamberlain, according to old custom, 200 ducats; Count Trautson received in 1709, from the Emperor, as a present for Easter day, a creation of thirty new chamberlains; and, in 1710, his successor, Count Waldstein, one of forty-seven. The former present, therefore, yielded 6,000, and the latter 9,000 ducats. This circumstance may account for the immense list of chamberlains at the court of Vienna. At the death of Maria Theresa, there were nearly 1,500; and as late as the year 1825, there were more than 1,700 chamberlains, of whom of course a few only were on actual duty. The female staff of the household was not less numerous; and in this branch a distinction was made between the titles of those who were of noble birth and of those who were not. The latter were distinguished by the style and dignity of "chamber *wenches*," whilst the noble ladies were "chamber *women*." But, besides the chamber wenches, the court calendar of 1732 enumerates "kitchen wenches, scullery wenches, extra ladies' wenches," and, as occupying the lowest step on this ladder of down-stairs hierarchy, "fatigue wenches" (*Strapazier-Menscher*).

To lodge this very numerous male and female household, there existed at Vienna a peculiar custom, the so-called

court-quarters. This was a sort of feudal burden on the houses in the town and in the suburbs, in virtue of which the owners were obliged everywhere to let the second story to the servants of the court for a small consideration. This custom, which dates from the time of Ferdinand I. and which extended to every place where the Emperor resided with his household, was abolished, in 1782, by Joseph II.

The dispatch of business in the chancelleries of Vienna was proverbially slow, being dilatory beyond any conception. The final decision was procrastinated again and again, with a view to swell the amount of fees, and a favourable resolution only followed after large bribes. The most powerful intercessions were of no avail; there was no escape from the interminable maze of legal quibbles and nugatory evasions. Moser has shown in his "Archives," that in the snail-paced routine of the official world at Vienna a memorial or account of a public creditor had, in the way of registration, reply, signature, copy, &c., &c., to pass through the hands of no less than eighty and odd persons.

The foreign ministers, especially the French ones, complained most bitterly of the way in which business was carried on at Vienna. The Due de Richelieu, in his Memoirs, writes as follows:—

"J'étois prévenu avant de partir pour Vienne, de la méthode que les ministres allemands en général observent en traitant, et de celle qu'il faut suivre avec eux. *Accoutumés à avancer des faits dont ils connoissent souvent la fausseté, ils ne savent point rougir*, lorsqu'en leur répondant, on leur fait voir qu'ils ont falsifié jusqu'aux actes les plus authentiques, et aux articles des traités les plus solennels."

The organisation and administration of the army was very peculiar. Prince Eugene, to his death in 1736, was generalissimo; and since 1703, filled at the same time the

posts of president of the Aulic Council of War and commissary general.

A sample of the manner in which affairs were transacted at that board, is given in a letter of Eugene's to Marlborough, dated the 13th of May, 1704, at a time when Germany was overrun by the French, and on the other hand pressed upon by the Hungarians, shortly before the victory of Blenheim. "Your Grace is astonished at my having been able this year to complete my dispositions with such dispatch. Your Grace is aware that people in Vienna are fond of lying long in bed. I therefore, according to the example of the French, had all the minutes of my dispositions prepared during the night, to have them the more speedily brought in when my many colleagues had at last risen from their couches. As in this way every morning some new affair was mooted, the old Spanish sloth of those good gentlemen was so much disconcerted, that they themselves at last begged that I would carry out my own arrangements myself; which was the very thing that I had wished."

Ever since the days of the all-powerful Friedländer, the Aulic Council of War was cautious and mistrustful beyond conception; notwithstanding all the brilliant proofs which Eugene had given of his devotedness to the Imperial house, he was never quite trusted. The "Perukes" (Wiseacres) of the Aulic Council also made themselves proverbially ridiculous by their presuming to expect the generals, who might be several hundred leagues off with their armies, not to undertake any battle, nor even a movement, without having applied for orders from Vienna.

All those gentlemen of the Aulic Council of War, with the exception of honest Prince Eugene, were mainly intent upon filling their pockets. They generally succeeded in amassing great wealth, and so did also the officers of the army. As every one down to the non-commissioned offi-

cers was implicated in the embezzlement, the poor soldier was left half-starved. The general officers being hand and glove with the Aulic councillors, there was no redress against this most crying evil.

Every colonel was a sort of absolute monarch in his own regiment. *Those of the infantry even had the sole right of inflicting or suspending capital punishment on their soldiers.* In the cavalry, on the other hand, no colonel had the "*jus gladii*;" for which reason it was for a long time a standing custom among the nobles to serve only in that branch of the army. Even the Emperor himself was debarred from procuring the reprieve of an infantry soldier condemned to death. The colonel appointed all the officers in his regiment up to lieutenant-colonel, without the Emperor or the Aulic Council having any voice in the matter. He too took the exclusive charge of recruiting for the ranks. This was done in the most simple manner by the young generation filling up the places of the veterans; the regiments thus reproducing themselves from their own progeny. The yearly pay of a colonel was about 3000; that of a sub-lieutenant (ensign), about 300 florins. A private would receive in the Thirty Years War four groats (four pence) a day; under Charles VI. he had, according to the cheapness of the different garrisons, five, four, three, and in the cheapest of all countries, in Hungary, only two kreuzers (three kreuzers = one penny). The surplus went into the pockets of the colonel: who besides made a very good profit out of the clothing; so that his income was seldom less, but for the most part more, than 10,000 florins. This was the reason why the large, cumbersome frock-coats remained so long in use with the Austrian army. Maria Theresa once attempted to have them done away with; but it was in vain. The celebrated Venetian Marshal Count Schulemburg states that the Imperial Field-marshal Count Traun received a fixed salary of 12,000 florins, besides the "profit," of which, Schulemburg says, another (less honest)

man would have made at least 200,000 florins. The system of fraud was carried to such an incredible extent, that at the most critical period of the Austrian monarchy,—after the death of Charles VI.,—of the 135,000 men who were actually paid for by the Emperor, not more than 68,000 were under arms to protect the heiress of the Habsburg countries. The "profit" on the half which was only on paper, was pocketed; and the other half, as mentioned before, was left half-starved.

The great mass of the Austrian army was formed by Sclavonic, Hungarian, and Wallachian soldiers, who could only be kept in order by flogging, running the gauntlet, and other similar expedients, well known to the "patriarchal" Austrian military discipline. The treatment being barbarous, the men could not but remain in a half-savage state. The non-commissioned officers were procured from the more civilised regions of the German Empire, whence also the poor nobles flocked to the Austrian standards, gladly and gratefully accepting commissions in his Imperial Majesty's service. *All the commissions, however, were purchased,* down to the days of the Stadion ministry in 1809, when Archduke Charles abolished that old custom.

Something was done under Charles VI. for the military education of the officers. In 1717, the Academy of Cadets was founded in Vienna, which has since been transferred to Neustadt. Another was opened at Brussels. These institutions, however, began to flourish only under the rule of Field-marshal Daun. Maria Theresa, as *alma mater castrorum,* founded at a later period the first large Hospital of Invalids at Vienna.

At the time of Charles VI. still, many officers and commanders in the Austrian army were decrepit old men, or people who had interest at court, but who knew nothing whatever of soldiering, not to speak of military science. Those persons being completely unfit to hold any responsible command, were put in the most important and con-

sequently most lucrative posts, the emoluments of which they duly pocketed. And, worst of all, it not unfrequently happened that the generals would not obey their superiors. Thus, in the war against the Turks in 1739, in which, three years after Eugene's death, Belgrade and Servia, his glorious conquests, were lost again; the confusion got to such a pitch, that the four generals commanding under the Duke of Lorraine, the general-in-chief, were warring among themselves and intercepting each other's couriers, instead of cooperating against the enemy. The consequence was a treaty of which Joseph II. might well say, "There is no other instance of a peace being concluded in such a way."

The army comprised in 1736, besides Prince Eugene, its commander-in-chief,—

18 Field-marshals,
26 Generals of cavalry,
19 Generals (Generalfeldzeugmeister),
91 Lieutenant-field-marshals,
121 Major-generals;

on the whole, 275 general officers, besides the generalissimo.

The troops were divided into 82 regiments, viz.:—

46	Regiments	of infantry,
21	,,	cuirassiers,
11	,,	dragoons,
3	,,	hussars, and
1	,,	heyducks.*

Besides the army, there remains to be mentioned the Austrian navy. In 1700, at the outbreak of the war of the Spanish Succession, a flotilla of small vessels had been

* The army, at the death of Ferdinand III., in 1637, consisted of eleven regiments of infantry and ten of cavalry. At the death of Leopold I., 1705, of thirty-six regiments of infantry, twenty of cuirassiers, eleven of dragoons, and four of hussars.

formed at Trieste, which was intended to operate against Naples. In 1719, the Emperor Charles VI., by the advice of Prince Eugene, gave orders for the creation of an Austrian navy. It was subordinate to the Aulic Council of War, and had for vice-admiral an Englishman, styled Lord Corbes, who resided in Vienna. A naval arsenal was ordered to be erected at Trieste; the naval architects being first an Italian, Girolamo Davanzo, and after him a French Huguenot, Boyer; who held the office for eleven years and built several ships of war. This flotilla, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the great maritime powers, was ready for sea in 1722; when another Englishman, Deighman, who had likewise been raised to the rank of vice-admiral, hoisted his flag on the line-of-battle ship, the Santa Elizabetta.

In the year 1734, at the outbreak of the war of the Polish Succession, the fleet consisted of—

Three line-of-battle ships of 70, 60, and 40 guns, with a crew of 300 men each;

Two armanizze, a sort of frigates, with 32 and 30 guns;

One frigate, four galiots, one chebecque, one feluca, and several other small vessels.

It carried, in all, 500 guns and 8000 men, the officers being for the most part Genoese, Neapolitans, and Spaniards. The admiral was Pallavicini, an Italian.

After the conclusion of the war and the death of Eugene, this naval force soon fell into neglect. Pallavicini laid down his command; the regiment of marines was disbanded; the crews paid off; and the flotilla offered for sale to the Venetians, who, however, declined to purchase it.

Maria Theresa afterwards was advised by the English to renounce the idea of an Austrian navy; and during the Seven Years' War in 1758, all the larger vessels and the whole equipment of the arsenal of Trieste, with all its stores, were sold at a ridiculously low price.

It was not until the year 1815, that a new organisation of the Austrian navy was thought of.*

4. THE DEATH OF THE LAST HABSBURG EMPEROR CHARLES VI. — HIS FAMILY.

On the 10th of October, 1740, the Emperor Charles VI. returned in the most trying weather—a pelting rain mixed with sleet—from one of his shooting trips on the Neusiedel Lake to Halbthurm. Although suffering from colic, he supped on fried mushrooms; the consequence of which was a severe fit of vomiting during the night. Having been removed to Vienna to the "new Favorita,"—a summer palace built by himself (the present Theresianum),—he was seized with a violent fever, and died in the night of the 19th of October. On the 1st of October, as the Papal Nuncio Paolucci congratulated him on his birthday, the Emperor said, "I shall die. Belgrade is my death. The disgrace kills me. What, if Eugene had lived to see this!" The last Habsburger, even to the close of his life, was not distracted by great affairs from attention to trifles; as the first Rodolph did not disdain to mend his coat with his own hand, thus the sixth Charles did not scorn to regulate the minutest concerns of his own household. Shortly before his death, he gave his orders concerning all the details of his own funeral, and fixed the number of the masses to be read for the repose of his soul; moreover, he made provision for his pet animals and his dwarf, Baron Klein (Little), otherwise called "Little Jacky" (Kleiner Hansel).† The Empress Elizabeth had not left the bedside of her lord for six days and six nights. The last hours of the

* The Austrian navy, in the beginning of this year (1856), consisted of 102 larger and smaller vessels, carrying, in all, 762 guns.—*Transl.*

† Charles VI. was the last emperor who kept a jester with cap and bells.

dying Emperor were devoted to his favourite, Duke Charles of Lorraine. This prince, his son-in-law, was a most stately personage, although strongly pitted with the small-pox: in all the vicissitudes of fortune he remained imperturbably cheerful; but he was nearly always drunk, and not unfrequently most brutal. He commanded the Austrian army in the Silesian campaigns, and afterwards in the Seven Years' War, and was distinguished as the most consistent loser of battles. He had married, in 1744, the Emperor's second daughter Maria Anna; who died within the year after her wedding. Maria Theresa, his eldest daughter, the Emperor declined to see. She was five months gone with the child who afterwards became the Emperor Joseph II., and Charles VI. wished to spare her the distressing sight of her father's death-bed; he therefore only caused himself to be raised on his couch, and, turning to the side of the palace where she stayed, pronounced, in a loud voice and with uplifted hands, his paternal blessing upon her.

This eldest daughter of his had ever been the subject of his most affectionate solicitude. The House of Habsburg had, from 1711 to 1716, Charles VI. for its sole representative in the direct male line. The same thing had happened before, under Leopold I., from 1668 to 1678. Previous to the marriage of Charles VI. with Elizabeth of Brunswick, careful medical inquiries had been instituted through the Jesuit Father Tönnemann — the influential confessor of Charles VI. — concerning the state of health of the princess; and the report was favourable to the prospects of her bearing children. Yet the union remained eight years without issue, although the Empress, with a view to prompt her constitution, was made to drink strong wines and liquors; owing to which her face retained a flaming red complexion to the last day of her life. In 1716, at last she bore a son, the Archduke Leopold; but this prince died six months after his birth; either, as was gene-

rally asserted at Vienna, because the Aja (governess) had, by scornful remarks, repeatedly put the nurse into a passion, whereby the milk was vitiated; or, as Lady Mary Wortley Montague states, because the prince was injudiciously weaned too soon. After this, two daughters were born; Maria Theresa in 1717, and Maria Anna in 1718. The anxious wish of Charles VI. for another male heir was doomed to remain unfulfilled. The Empress became pregnant again; and, to excite her imagination, the best painters received orders to decorate her bedchamber in the different palaces with erotic representations of manly beauty and vigour; moreover, Charles VI. caused himself to be crowned and anointed at Prague, in deference to a strange superstition prevalent in Bohemia, according to which none but a crowned and anointed king was thought able to become the father of male heirs. But the child to which the Empress gave birth subsequently to that coronation (1725), after all, was not a son, but the Archduchess Amalia, who died five years after.

Under these circumstances, it was the constant and principal care of Charles VI. to secure for the Archduchess Maria Theresa the unmolested succession to the Austrian inheritance; for which purpose he used all his endeavours to bring about a new and indissoluble family settlement. This was the "Austrian Pragmatic Sanction," enacted in 1713, and published in 1724, by which the female succession according to primogeniture, and the unity and indivisibility of the monarchy were laid down as the fundamental law of the country. After it had once been passed, Charles was indefatigable in his steps for having it guaranteed by all the German potentates, and by the great and small powers of Europe. The more vigorously to push this affair, he kept at all the courts of Europe, besides his regular ambassadors and ministers, secret agents and spies, who cost him considerable sums. In these transactions, Austria sacrificed once more—and this time in

the most injurious manner—the public interests of the German Empire to the family interests of the House of Habsburg. Charles VI., at the Peace of Vienna of 1735, made over to France the duchy of Lorraine, a country forming an integral part of the German Empire.* This was a prize eagerly coveted by the policy of the French court ever since the days of Cardinal Richelieu. Francis Stephen, Duke of Lorraine, was the husband selected for Maria Theresa. He was made to cede his country to France, and received in exchange the grand-duchy of Tuscany, which had just fallen vacant by the death of the last duke of the house of Medicis. This barter being accomplished, he married the heiress of Austria on the 12th of February, 1736. But it happened as old honest Prince Eugene had apprehended—the powers guaranteeing the Pragmatic Sanction broke to the orphan daughter of Charles VI. the faith of the solemnly sworn treaties. The intention was to partition Austria; just as was at a later period done in the case of Poland. Half Europe rose against Maria Theresa, whom her rivals affected to style only Grand-Duchess of Tuscany.

According to Hormayr, it had been a much cherished plan of Eugene's to bring about a match between Maria Theresa to the man who afterwards became her deadly enemy—Frederic II., at that time Crown Prince of Prussia, her senior by not more than five years. But this matrimonial project miscarried, owing to the reports of the dissensions in the royal family of Prussia; and, most of all, owing to what had transpired concerning the irremediable consequences of Frederic's youthful excesses. The difference of religion was not considered at Vienna as an insuperable obstacle. Some of the Emperor's councillors even looked on it as a bridge for the gradual reconciliation

* Lorraine was the last country but one thus sacrificed; the last was the left bank of the Rhine, with Mayence, exchanged for Venice in 1797.

of the Roman Catholic and the Protestant parties of the Empire, and for a closer union against France, and also against some inconvenient schemes of the English cabinet. But Maria Theresa herself could not bear Frederic. On a later occasion, after the loss of Silesia, she exclaimed, "Anything rather than to have married him."

CHAPTER XII.

MARIA THERESA.

1740—1780.

1. THE TWO SILESIAN WARS, AND THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION ON THE DEATH OF CHARLES VI.

On the death of Charles VI., the 20th of October, 1740, the Austrian monarchy — exactly as had been the case forty years before, at the death of Charles II. of Spain — was in the worst possible state as regarded her finances and her military means. Maria Theresa found in the Imperial treasury not more than 87,000 rix thalers (13,050*l.*). The army, which on paper amounted to 135,000 men, was in reality only 68,000 effective men under arms. Of these troops, 38,000 were scattered in the Netherlands and in Lombardy; the other 30,000 from the fortresses of Transylvania in the east, to Austrian Breisgau in the west, and from Silesia down to the Tyrol. In Silesia, there were only three battalions and two grenadier companies; in Bohemia, one battalion and one grenadier company.

The people in power at Vienna relied on the peaceful disposition of old Cardinal Fleury, at that time in his ninetieth year. Without the help of France, Bavaria seemed powerless. The principal enemy, Frederic of Prussia, who only eight weeks after the death of Charles VI. overran Silesia, was not thought of at all. In the capital

itself, immediately after the Emperor's death, riots broke out on account of the high price of provisions, and had to be put down by force of arms. After this, the people relapsed into their old listless indifference. The first still thoroughly peaceable ordinances of Maria Theresa's government referred to the prohibition of May-trees; to the popular festive cavalcade on the back of asses to Herrnals; and to some sanitary measures on the Hungarian frontier. Even as late as on the 1st of November, Maria Theresa, never dreaming of any danger from without, bestowed in a quiet domestic way on her consort Francis the Grand-mastership of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the co-regency, and the Bohemian electoral vote.

Then at once the news fell like a thunderbolt on the Hofburg, "the Prussians are in Silesia."* At the same time, Baron Gotter made his appearance in Vienna, to prefer, on the part of the King of Prussia his master, old claims to the four Silesian principalities of Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, and Jägerndorf; in return for which Frederic offered to Maria Theresa the assistance of his army and treasure against all her enemies, and his electoral vote in favour of Francis at the election of the Emperor of the Romans. To this demand of Gotter, Bartenstein, the Austrian secretary of state, replied: "What of that? The father, as arch-chamberlain of the Empire, had to present to the Emperor the basin for washing hands; and the son will now dictate laws to the daughter." Gotter then showed to the Grand-duke Francis a letter from his master, in which the latter wrote, "If the grand-duke wants to ruin himself, let him do so!" This seemed to make an impression on Francis; but the Bohemian chancellor, Count Kinsky, the proudest man of the court, represented to him in the most forcible

* The Prussian army passed the Silesian frontier on the 13th of December, 1740.

manner, that such a compliance would be a disgrace to the Imperial court.* All the offers of Prussia were rejected. Frederic then wrote: "The time has arrived when the old political system may undergo a complete change. The stone is loosened which will smite the image of Nebuchadnezzar, composed of many metals."

The chief command against the Prussians was entrusted to William Renard, Count Neipperg, the grandfather of that Neipperg who became the second husband of Napoleon's widow.

Neipperg had fought most unluckily against the Turks. Scarcely had Prince Eugene breathed his last in 1736, when the overbearing Bartenstein contrived to bring about the most impolitic, as well as most unjust war with the Turks; the ostensible pretext for which was the alleged duty of assisting the Russians, as the allies of Austria; whilst the real motive was a chimerical hope of being able to drive the infidels from Europe. The war, begun in 1737, ended in the Peace of Belgrade in 1739, in which — three years after Eugene's death — all the most precious conquests gained by him in the Peace of Passarowitz, in 1718, were lost again; Servia and a piece of Wallachia and of Bosnia, and even Belgrade, the key of Hungary, the port of the Danube, being wantonly thrown away. In that war, Count Seckendorf†, who first held the chief command, had made common cause with the commissary-general Harrucher in allowing the army to starve. Count Oliver Wallis, his successor, a violent and malignant man, so completely lost his head, that when the Emperor entrusted him with the commission of negociating a

* The Prussian ambassador, Count Podewils, afterwards stated, in a dispatch to Frederic the Great, dated 24th of May, 1747, that Kinsky had been actuated just as much by fear of losing his revenue of chancellor of Bohemia as by zeal for the interests of the Imperial house.

† The same who figured at the court of Berlin as one of the principal boon companions of Frederic William I.

peace, he at once offered to the Turks the surrender of Belgrade with razed fortifications. Neipperg being sent definitely to settle the conditions of the treaty, was utterly ignorant of the concessions made by Count Wallis, as the latter, from malice, had purposely kept him in the dark. When, therefore, Neipperg came into the Turkish camp, the Turks looked upon him as a spy; and the Pasha of Bosnia spat into his face, saying, "Thou infidel dog, thou sayest not one word of what the Vizier Wallis has offered; thou shalt be sent to Constantinople and be punished as thou deservest." Whilst Neipperg was engaged in these humiliating transactions, General Count Schmettau* had placed Belgrade in such an effective state of defence, that the Turks found it all but impossible to take it. Of this Neipperg was ignorant again; and, to save his own life, he now likewise consented to give up Belgrade to the Turks. At last, he was so irretrievably compromised, that for shame the government were obliged to send him as a prisoner of state to the fortress of Grätz. Wallis was, at the same time, confined at Glatz, and Seckendorf at Spielberg. Bartenstein was furious against Neipperg; who, as he said, "deserved to be impaled, or, by way of sheer mercy, at all events to be hanged." Neipperg, however, had only acted up to the secret instructions of the principal person in the state, the heiress of the monarchy; who, therefore, immediately after her accession gave orders for his release. And now the general, who had had tamely to submit to the Moslem spitting into his face, took the chief command against the Prussian invaders, at the head of an army of scarcely 36,000 men, with sixteen guns; and with a war chest containing the scanty sum of 300,000 florins.

First of all, the Vienna politicians tried to get rid of the

* Afterwards grand-maître d'artillerie and chief d'état major of Frederic the Great.

new enemy in the shortest way—by assassination. Such at least was the statement of Frederic, made by him in a letter of the 17th of March, 1741, to Baron Dankelmann, his minister resident at Mayence, in which he speaks of "banditti sent to his camp to attempt his life;" and of "the confession of one of the assassins, who had bound himself by an oath in the presence of the Duke of Lorraine." Baron Dankelmann then published a special memoir at Mayence, to which the court of Vienna replied by another.

Neipperg, on the 10th of April, 1741, lost the battle of Mollwitz; after which, his army, in wild flight and completely broken up, retreated to Neisse. The road to Vienna lay open before the conqueror; and Ziethen with his hussars scoured the country as far as Korn-Neuburg and Stockerau, where from the bleak heights of the Bisamberg (Musk-hill) he had a view of the Imperial capital. The infatuated assurance of the Viennese now gave way to a panic. All who could anyhow manage it, fled to Hungary, to Styria, or to Carinthia. The ladies of the Imperial family, the treasure, and the archives were placed in safety at the castle of Grätz.

On the 18th of May, 1741, the French General Belleisle concluded the Treaty of Nymphenburg with Bavaria. Its stipulations were to this effect: "The Grand-duchess of Tuscany to have Hungary and the country below the confluence of the Enns, including Vienna and all the inner province of Austria; Bavaria to have the Imperial crown and Bohemia, the country above the confluence of the Enns, the Tyrol, and the Breisgau; Saxony to receive Moravia, with Troppau, Jägerndorf, Teschen, and the hereditary title of King of Saxony-Poland; the King of Prussia to retain Silesia; Spain to take Lombardy; and France to annex the Netherlands." On the 31st of July, the Bavarians surprised Passau, the key of the Danube; after which, Bavarian and French dragoons roamed as far

as Sieghards Kirchen, and on their side also surveyed the capital of the Cæsars, which was even challenged by a Bavarian trumpeter to surrender. On the 14th of September, the allied Bavarian and French troops entered Linz; and the Elector Charles Albert of Bavaria was proclaimed Archduke of Austria, in virtue of the testament of Ferdinand I., which secured to the elder female line the succession after the failure of direct male heirs. The elector derived his claim from his ancestress Anna, the eldest daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I.,; who, in 1546, had become the wife of Albert V. of Bavaria. That testament which, according to ancient usage, was 200 years before exchanged in exact duplicates between the courts of Austria and Bavaria, *had been falsified at Vienna.* When the secretary of state Bartenstein, and the Bavarian envoy Count la Perouse, compared the two original copies, it caused no little astonishment among the ministers present on the occasion that the Austrian duplicate, instead of "male (männliche) heirs of his body," read "born in wedlock (ehliche)." Hormayr asserts, from personal traditions of men who were deep in the cabinet secrets of Charles VI. and Maria Theresa, that the forgery was perpetrated by Bartenstein and by Bessel, the celebrated abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Göttweih, author of the "Chronicon Gottwicense;" and that four learned Benedictines, Herrgott, Heer, and the two brothers Petz, had aided them in it.

Vienna, although challenged to surrender, was saved. The Elector of Bavaria, who wished first of all to be crowned as King of Bohemia, set out, on the 4th of November, from Krems on the Danube; and, instead of marching upon Vienna, led his army to Prague, which he conquered. On the 7th of December, Charles Albert was proclaimed King of Bohemia.

Maria Theresa had, in the meanwhile, applied in Hungary to the magnates for aid and support in her sad dis-

tress. On the 11th of September, 1741, the memorable scene took place, when the queen, again pregnant, in deep mourning but in Hungarian costume, wearing the crown of St. Stephen, and girded with the royal sword, stepped before the assembled diet, and began to speak of "her good right; of the faithlessness of her opponents; of her being deserted by all the world, and having no other shield but the fidelity and bravery of her noble-hearted Hungarians, to whom she entrusted herself and her children." Naming her children, Maria Theresa burst into tears, and was scarcely able to finish her short speech, which she concluded by calling upon her faithful Hungarians to draw the sword in defence of their sovereign. Even as late as in October, she wrote from Pressburg to her mother-in-law, "that she had no safe place where to lie in." Two months after, on the 11th of December, she was able to return to Vienna. The Hungarian "insurrection" (national militia), of 30,000 infantry and 15,000 horse, besides 20,000 recruits for the regular army, with the free corps of Trenck, Menzel, &c. &c., altogether about 100,000 men, were sent to her rescue. This Hungarian army saved Maria Theresa, Vienna, and the monarchy.

With Frederic a treaty had been concluded, on the 9th of October, 1741, at Oberschnellendorf, by which Silesia was left to him. The siege of Neisse, and the petty war thenceforth was only a sham and a blind. The Austrian army now attacked the allied French and Bavarians in Bohemia; and, on the other side, Bavaria was overrun. The troops with which Austria made herself particularly formidable to her enemies, were those very forces granted by the Hungarian Diet—the Free Corps of the Croats; especially those terrible Pandours from the Turkish frontier, commanded by the partisans Bärenklau, Menzel, Trips, and last, though not least, Francis von Trenck.

Baron Francis von Trenck was a kinsman of that famous Frederic von Trenck who was so long kept prisoner by

Frederic of Prussia. They were both descended from an old Pomeranian family. Francis was born in 1711, at Reggio in Calabria, where his father, a lieutenant-colonel in the Austrian service, happened to be garrisoned. As he grew up, he soon became a marvel of manly beauty and gigantic strength; of boldness and presence of mind; of irascibility, rapaciousness, and profligacy. He spoke seven languages fluently. Brought up by the Jesuits at Oedenburg, he entered the Austrian service in Hungary even before he had completed his seventeenth year; and he had quarrel after quarrel and amour after amour even subsequently to his marriage—at the age of twenty-two—to a young baroness, Von Tellier. Having, in 1737, lost her, and four children whom he had had by her, he never married again; but had not been long a widower before he was banished from Austria for having insulted one of the first ladies of Vienna and an ambassador who accompanied her. When, in the same year, the war of the Sublime Porte with Russia and Austria broke out, he took service with the Russians under Marshal Münnich, whom he likewise succeeded in fascinating; but his quarrels and his frequent breach of military duty soon caused him again to be cashiered, and he was expelled also from Russia. At the outbreak of the war with the enemies of the Pragmatic Sanction in 1740, Trenck offered to raise for Maria Theresa a regiment of Pandours, which he commanded as its colonel till 1746. These wild hordes, with their shaggy beards and their plaited hair, with their large blood-red cloaks and trowsers, with their czakos and topankas, always formed the van; and their leader being completely ignorant of geography, they committed near Prague and Linz, in the country of the sovereign whom they pretended to defend, the same shocking cruelties as in the hostile country of Bavaria. "The Free Corps," Khevenhüller* reported,

* A descendant of the celebrated writer of the "Annales Ferdinandei"

"burned and murdered, in many cases, from sheer wantonness. They have hanged innocent persons, just as the fancy took them, on the gates of towns or on the nearest trees; they have robbed churches and defiled the sacred vessels, or else melted them and sold the gold and silver and precious stones to the Jews; they have sent home the peasants of the Bavarian militia with their noses and ears cut off; they have outraged modest wives and maidens in the presence of their fettered husbands and fathers, and then hurled them into the flames; they have speared infants, and thrown them to the dogs." Yet these complaints had no effect at Vienna, as Trenck was there considered to be too necessary a man. Even in 1744, when, at a *levée*, he offered to Maria Theresa to pass the Rhine at the most dangerous point with 20,000 men, and to keep his footing until the other troops had passed after him; the Empress acknowledged his devotedness in the most flattering terms. But, although he possessed a fortune of nearly 2,000,000 florins, his rapacity and avarice knew no bounds; so that at last Maria Theresa, with much reluctance, was obliged to yield to the unceasing complaints against the fell partisan. The Empress indeed had twice quashed the proceedings against him; but the overbearing insolence of Trenck prompted him himself to enforce their being resumed, and he was sentenced to be beheaded and his property to be confiscated. Maria Theresa, however, commuted the sentence into imprisonment for life at the Spielberg near Brünn. Here Trenck was allowed a ducat a day, the attendance of a servant, and the free use of writing materials. He died as a Capuchin, in the dress of the order, and surrounded by the brothers, upon whom he had bestowed rich gifts. He requested that he might be buried within the vaults of the Capuchins; in order that, as was stated in his will, "the Devil might be cheated out of his poor soul, which he had looked forward with such pleasure to having."

Another terrible partisan of the war of the Austrian

Succession, was Colonel John Daniel Menzel. He too was said to have by his robberies made a fortune of more than 3,000,000 florins. He died, in 1744, a soldier's death, it is true; but it was throwing away his life wantonly and uselessly. After a banquet given by Bärenklau to the Landgrave of Darmstadt, in the camp at Stockstadt, Menzel went to a small islet called "The Mulberry Island," in the Rhine; placed himself on the parapet of the bastion, braving the French on the opposite shore of the river; and was wounded by a cannon-ball in the lower part of the body, of which he died on the following morning. He was born in 1698, being the son of a hair-powder dealer at Leipzig; and had risen from the ranks. He had first served under Augustus of Saxony, then in Russia under Münnich; and had twice been sent to the celebrated Nadir Shah of Persia. Menzel regretted, even when on his death-bed, not having been able to execute a plan conceived by him two years before, of undertaking with 1,500 hussars a foray as far as Paris, to extort a goodly contribution from the French capital.

The invasion of Bavaria by the savage hordes of the partisans, led to a result which perhaps had not been expected by the Austrian government. Frederic II., startled at the supercilious tone which Austria immediately assumed again, broke the treaty of Oberschnellendorf, to hasten to the assistance of the Elector of Bavaria; who, in the meanwhile, had been elected Emperor. The Prussian ambassador at Vienna, Count Dohna, received orders to leave Vienna by express command of his king; the count pretending merely a journey to Stuttgardt, communicated to the Imperial ministers only verbally the reasons for setting aside the treaty; of which the most stringent was, that the king, as one of the principal electors of the Empire, could never allow the Emperor to be disregarded, and could not look on with indifference while the head of the Empire was being deprived of his hereditary possessions.

Frederic now took the important fortress of Glatz, in Upper Silesia, thus affording relief to his allies the French in Bohemia; and once more allowed his hussars to extend their forays to within sight of the steeple of St. Stephen. On the 17th of May, 1742, the battle of Czaslau* was fought, which Frederic won, and where he made the severely wounded Austrian General Polland a prisoner. When Frederic paid him a visit, Polland disclosed to the king how shamefully he was deceived by the French. In proof of this assertion, he laid before him an original letter of Fleury to Maria Theresa, in which the cardinal offered to the Queen a peace and the integral possession of all her hereditary states, and also the guarantee for Moravia and Silesia, if she would cede to Charles VII. Bohemia and the country above the confluence of the Enns; Saxony in that case was to be indemnified for her expectance of Moravia by the cession of Magdeburg. In consideration of this arrangement, the united forces of France, Austria, Saxony, Bavaria, and the Empire were to turn against the King of Prussia. Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence, Frederic gave orders to his minister Count Podewils to close with the English mediator Lord Hyndford. Thus, on the 11th of June, 1742, the Peace of Breslau was concluded, which left to Frederic — the "bad man," as Maria Theresa called him — Silesia and Glatz.

The Austrian cabinet, in concluding this peace, indulged in the hope of being allowed to make up its losses by keeping Bavaria, the possession of which was one of the most dearly cherished objects of the cabinet of Vienna during the whole of the eighteenth century.

The Elector of Bavaria and German Emperor, Charles VII., who at that time lived in exile at Frankfort-on-the-

* On this occasion, the Prussians took away from the profaned grave of Ziska the drum covered with the skin of that famous blind general of the Hussites, the roll of which was said to strike the enemy with madness. This barbarous relic was then sent to Berlin.

Maine, was placed in the most painful position. He was left in the lurch by his faithless allies the French. Count Seckendorf*, who now commanded the Bavarian troops, had been forced to capitulate, and to take up a neutral position at Wembdingen on the borders of the principality of Ansbach. At last, Frederic the Great—two years after the conclusion of the Peace of Breslau—determined once more to draw his sword for Bavaria. He allied himself with France; went to see Seckendorf in his camp, to consult with him about the means for reinstating the Elector in his hereditary possessions; and then, in taking the field for the third time, invaded Bohemia in August, 1744, with 80,000 men. Thus Seckendorf was able to lead back Charles VII. to Munich.

Charles, however, died soon after, on the 20th of January, 1745; and his successor hastened to conclude with Austria separately the Peace of Füssen (22nd of April), by which Bavaria was restored to the House of Wittelsbach. Frederic, who, although deserted by Bavaria, was still strong enough for his enemies, defeated the Saxons, who, from being his allies, had become those of Austria, at Kesselsdorf near Dresden, 15th of December, 1745. Upon this, his second peace with Austria was concluded at Dresden, on the 25th of December, 1745.† Its stipulations were the same as those of the Peace of Breslau: Silesia and Glatz were left to the "bad man."

The struggle with France lasted three years longer. The peace which put an end to the war of the Austrian

* After the Peace of Belgrade, he had been unjustly deprived of his allowances as field-marshal; besides which, his petition for the repayment of 145,000 florins, which he had advanced during the war from his own purse, was left unheeded. Being fond of money, Seckendorf threw up his commission in disgust, and exchanged the service of Maria Theresa for that of Charles VII., who received him with open arms.

† The Austrian negotiator on this occasion was Count Frederic Harrach, the great grandfather of the Princess of Liegnitz, the consort, in a morganatic marriage, of the late King Frederic William III. of Prussia.

Succession, was concluded in 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle by Prince Kaunitz, who afterwards became arch-chancellor. Maria Theresa kept all that she possessed, except a few districts in Lombardy, which were ceded to Sardinia.

The plan of France for the dismemberment of the power of her rival Austria, thus fell to the ground. All the success of the united French-Bavarian army in Bohemia, where Charles VII. had actually received a compelled homage as king of the country, remained but a sterile victory, for which, however, Maria Theresa made the Bohemians pay very dearly. For, although they had never actively engaged in the cause of the sovereign who, in accordance with the will of Ferdinand I., was their lawful king; even their passive obedience was accounted to them as a crime, and a terrible revenge was taken on the alleged culprits. Not less than twenty-one persons, *whose names were not allowed to be recorded*, are stated to have suffered death on the scaffold, besides those who died in prison. Numbers were exiled; others were tortured and sent to the house of correction with hard labour as common convicts, subject to being flogged at the pleasure of their jailors; many also suffered the slow death of perpetual imprisonment in the Austrian dungeons. During the stay of Maria Theresa at Prague, on the occasion of her coronation, a priest placed in her way, as she walked through the city, more than fifty little children of the prisoners, and also the pregnant wives of some of them; but, although many who witnessed the pitiful scene were moved to tears, the innocent infants and wives implored the royal clemency in vain.*

* Memoir presented at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, by the exiled Bohemians (quoted by Hormayr).

2. MARIA THERESA'S SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. — GERMANISING OF THE HUNGARIAN ARISTOCRACY. — REDUCING OF THE POWER OF THE AUSTRIAN NOBLES BY THE BUREAUCRACY.— CONSCRIPTION AND FIXED TAXES.—ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS.

DURING the eight years of peace from 1748 to 1756; Maria Theresa tried to make up by inward reforms for the loss of Silesia. An Austrian monarchy, a compact state, did not exist before Maria Theresa; but only an agglomeration of countries under Austrian dominion. She was the first to establish a sort of unity in the Austrian Empire.

Maria Theresa's tendencies were decidedly absolutist; but her mode of action was very different from that of her son Joseph after her. She showed no harshness, made no display; she proceeded step by step just as the world grew more and more enlightened. She never meant to act *contra legem;* but at most, now and then, *præter legem.* Taken on the whole, her measures were contrary to the letter of the constitution, and sometimes even contrary to the national liberties; but to individuals and families she behaved like a true mother, as the kindest and most benevolent interpreter and agent of their wants and wishes.

She loved the nobility as long as they remained under her eyes at the court of Vienna; but she hated them as soon as they presumed to take an independent position at their castles and on their estates. She, therefore, tried in every possible manner to entice them to the court, and she succeeded, especially with the Hungarian nobility; among whom, instead of the old fierce lawlessness and overbearing national pride, she tried as much as possible to introduce, by intermarriages, German tone and German civilisation; for which purpose also she founded the Theresianum at Vienna, where the Magyar youth had at an early age its national spirit broken — all in a most parental way.

"Maria Theresa's absolutism," says Hormayr, "was idyllic-despotic; that of Joseph, *doctrinaire*-Marc-Aurelian."

What former kings, then, never dared to attempt, or had dearly to pay for, she, an insinuating woman, carried out with a bland smile, almost unopposed. The aristocrats, who, for very shame, were obliged in public to show a respect for the progress of enlightenment and civilisation, were forced to applaud, whilst one encroachment after another was made upon their independence. Nor was there the least fear as to how far all this might lead.

In pursuance of the old maxim of "divide and rule," the nationalities remained strictly separate; the German, the Magyar, the Bohemian, the Italian, did not understand, nor did they love each other, and were always glad and ready at the beck of the government to combat one another. Thus, for instance, to keep Hungary in check, the Sclavonic language was greatly encouraged in Illyria; but in Bohemia, on the other hand, the same language was opposed and oppressed. Every remembrance of the great national names was strictly prohibited in Hungary; and Maria Theresa was not at all slow in sending any one who made himself obnoxious, to the fortresses of Kuffstein, Spielberg, or Munkats. A remarkable instance of this is recorded. The daughter of the elder Francis Ragoczy was shut up in a convent in Vienna. About the same time (1690), General Ferdinand Gobert von Aspermont, who had lost Belgrade to the Turks, was under open arrest in the capital. He found means frequently to see the princess at the convent; his valet having procured a duplicate key of the convent parlour. One evening, Prince-bishop Trautson of Vienna, finding them together, said in joke that nothing was wanting but his benediction. Aspermont and the princess took him at his word, and he gave it them in due form, making the sign of the cross over them. In that same night, Aspermont carried off the

princess from the convent parlour and made her his wife, at which the Emperor (Leopold I.) was highly incensed; but, as it could not be undone, there was no help for it. A son of this General Aspermont was living under Maria Theresa. One day, his heavy travelling carriage had stuck fast near the little town of Onod, so famous in the days of Ragoczy. Whilst all his endeavours to get it out of the morass were of no avail, the peasants returning from market only laughed at the distress of the German. Aspermont then mounted on the box of his carriage and called out to them in a thundering voice, "How is this; will you allow Ragoczy's grandson to be stifled in the mud?" Immediately the peasants unharnessed their own horses, put them to the carriage of the count, and led him in triumph to Onod. This incident was reported at Vienna. When Aspermont appeared at court the next time, Maria Theresa, her face flushed with anger, went to meet him, and said: "Aspermont, listen to me; I am sure I don't expect you to be stifled in the mud: but just leave that farce of Ragoczy alone, or I'll send you to prison."

After the death of the Palatine Louis Batthiany, in 1765, this ancient and national high office of mediator between the crown and the people was not again filled up: for Maria Theresa would have no palatinate. In this same way, she had no Hungarian Diet convoked during the last sixteen years of her reign: even the word diet (*reichstag*) was prohibited; it was only to be spoken of as a provincial parliament (*landtag*), just as in Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria, "so that all her beloved people might be equal, and none should believe themselves treated as step-children by her, the true and loving mother of the country."

As a set off against all these curtailments, the heir of the crown, even from a boy, wore Hungarian trowsers, learned the Magyar language, and had for his governor Charles Batthiany, the brother of the palatine; and even the archduchesses learned a certain number of Magyaric ad-

dresses and phrases by heart. Besides this, Maria Theresa's favourite daughter Christina, with her husband Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, kept a splendid Court at Pressburg, which is, as it were, only a suburb of Vienna; and there the Empress paid frequent visits to her dear children and grandchildren. In no place was her gracious Majesty more gracious than at Pressburg. She took an interest in all the family affairs of her beloved Hungarian magnates; and soon the Palffys, the Zichys, Erdödys, Batthianys, Koharys, Karolys, Forgatsch, Zschackys,—all of them families whose revenues were counted, if not by millions, like those of the Esterhazys, at all events by hundreds of thousands,—became staunch partisans of Austria.

With the less powerful and less rich families, the work of Germanisation was carried on by donations of estates reverted to the crown, by ecclesiastical preferment, by promotion in the army and in the civil service, by procuring rich matches for the sons and daughters, by conventual benefices for the unmarried ladies, by gratuitous education of the children in Vienna, and by other favours. Among the most powerful and richest families, the desired result was obtained by honorary distinction at court; a love of titles — as Count Mailath, himself a Hungarian, is bound to acknowledge — being the besetting sin of the Magyars*, who in this respect are fully equal in vanity to the French.

A change even more comprehensive and thoroughgoing

* As a proof of the complete success of these Germanising endeavours, may be quoted from the work of the tourist Neigebaur the saying of a highly-educated Hungarian gentleman in 1850, thirty years after the new attempts to revive the Magyaric language and literature: "We read German, we write German, we even *think* in German, and the Hungarian lady speaks German even better than the Viennese, it is said from vanity, in order to be considered as belonging to the court. The Hungarian writers themselves acknowledge that their countrymen prefer reading books in foreign languages to those in Magyaric. The learned Count Joseph Kemmeny wrote his 'Researches in Hungarian History' in German."

than that effected in Hungary by Germanisation, was wrought in the position of the Austrian nobles by the newly-created bureaucracy; that hierarchy of numberless public functionaries which Maria Theresa established in the provinces. These servants of the crown put an end to the former almost absolute rule of the seigneurs, by stepping in between them and their tenants, and thus keeping both in check — the noblemen as protectors of the tenants, and the tenants as the upholders of public authority. This great reform also was carried out by the Empress quietly and unobtrusively; Prussia being taken for an example, where King Frederic William I. had reformed the administrative system at the expense and to the detriment of the territorial aristocracy, in favour of the crown.

It is remarkable that the three men whom Maria Theresa employed as her agents in these reforms — Count Haugwitz*, Count Choteck, and Count Hatzfeld † — were no natives of Austria, but all of them of Sclavonic descent. Prince Kaunitz also, the greatest minister whom Austria has ever had, — much greater than the Rhinelander Metternich, — had Sclavonic blood in his veins.

It was the bureaucracy which Haugwitz substituted in the provinces for the overgrown power of the aristocracy, who, until then, had ruled there with nearly absolute sway. The absolutism of the court now allied itself with the democracy to curb the aristocratical element which interposed

* Count Haugwitz was a native of Silesia. After the conquest of that country by the Prussians, he embraced Popery and went to Vienna; where, from very humble beginnings, he rose to the post of Chancellor of the United Austrian and Bohemian Chancellery, and became one of the most wealthy men of the monarchy. The well-known Prussian cabinet minister and diplomatist under Frederic William III., belonged to the same family: his father inherited the estate of Krappitz, in Lower Silesia, from the minister of Maria Theresa.

† Count Choteck was a Bohemian. Count Hatzfeld was a younger son of the afterwards Prussian princely house of Hatzfeld-Trachenberg, which had been settled in Silesia since the Thirty Years' War.

between the crown and the people. To break it altogether, would not have suited his purpose, as he intended to make further use of it. The means employed for this great end was a simple stratagem of law. In every case of litigation which arose between the seigneur and the tenant, the burden of proving the claim was thrown upon the landlord, and the benefit of the doubt given to the tenant. The seigneurs smarted only for their own sins, as at a later period Joseph II. told them in the celebrated words: "Is it not an absurdity to believe that the masters possessed the soil before there were any tenants; and that the landlords had let their own to their vassals under certain conditions? Would not the lords have at once to leave or to starve, if there were no one to cultivate the soil?"

There was another and not less important object in establishing the new provincial bureaucracy. The functionaries were to assist in carrying out the new system of taxation, which consisted in changing what was called "contribution"—the subsidies, until then granted by the estates—into a fixed revenue. As in Austria the domains formed but a very inconsiderable part of the crown revenues, it was the interest of the government to keep a strict surveillance over the seigneurs, lest they should so impoverish the peasantry as to render them unprofitable to the sovereign. A fixed taxation made the Emperor independent of the owners of the large estates, the nobility, and the clergy, to whom he had hitherto had to apply whenever he wanted money or soldiers. The consequence of this operation was, that the amount of taxes, being fixed by government instead of being granted from year to year by the Estates, rose higher and higher. In Bohemia, in Austria, in Styria the taxes were doubled and trebled; even Hungary, which heretofore had no permanent taxation at all, paid, in the year of Maria Theresa's death, four and a half million florins. The peasant thus soon became aware that instead of one master he now had two, of whom

the sovereign was much more insatiable than the seigneur had ever been. Besides permanent taxation, Austria was, under Maria Theresa, encumbered for the first time with the maintenance of a regular standing army, for which the contribution, as the most certain and most productive tax, was expressly set apart. The establishment of a standing army weighed on the poor peasant with a double burden, owing to the military conscription, which, in 1772, was introduced in all the hereditary provinces of the monarchy, with the exception of Hungary, the Tyrol, the Netherlands, and Lombardy, which resisted it, and where the government did not venture to adopt violent measures.

What Haugwitz did for the direct, Choteck did for the indirect taxation. He and his subordinate Von Nefzern were the authors of the Austrian system of customs (Mauth), by which he rendered himself just as odious to the people as Haugwitz had done by his reforms. In the first place, the tariff was published in 1753, for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia; in 1754, followed one for Hungary; and at last, in 1755, one year before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, that for Austria. From the payment of these duties a few persons only were exempt—but only for their own private use; in particular, the members of the Imperial Aulic council, the foreign ambassadors, and some ancient highly privileged families; as for instance the Starhembergs, who had received this privilege as far back as 1415. The import duty for Bohemia amounted, in the case of foreign articles, to thirty per cent., and on those imported from other parts of the monarchy into the kingdom, to five per cent.; in Hungary, twenty per cent. was paid on the former, and five for the latter. In Austria, a sliding-scale was adopted; thirty per cent. was paid on foreign goods which were not considered necessaries at all; from twenty down to ten per cent. on those of which the home manufactures were not expected to produce a supply equal to the want; and from five down to one-and-a-half per

cent. on those which were indispensable for consumption. In the regulation of this tariff, a very able and experienced merchant of Brussels, named Brolé, a partner of the firm of Urbain Arnold of Trieste, was consulted.

The revenue from the customs, and from some other indirect taxes, which, according to the Prussian chancellor Fürst, at that time ambassador at Vienna, amounted, in 1754, to nearly 9,000,000 florins, was appropriated to the payment of the interest on the loan raised by the Bank of Vienna (the Stadtbanco) for the costs of the late wars.

Choteck, the chief of the department of the indirect taxes, was almost constantly at feud with Haugwitz, the chief of the direct taxes. The rivalry of these two great purveyors of the finances of the Empress went so far that, according to Fürst, Choteck was even accused of having fixed the rates in his tariff so high that the subjects, impoverished by it, should no longer be able to pay the "contribution," as in this way he hoped to ruin Haugwitz.

But Choteck never lost the favour of Maria Theresa; he even, after the death of Haugwitz, succeeded as Aulic chancellor. He died in 1701, like Haugwitz, without sons; leaving an only daughter, who was married to Count Taaffe.

3. PRINCE KAUNITZ. — THE AUSTRIAN DIPLOMACY, AND INTERCEPTION OF LETTERS AND DESPATCHES IN THE POST. — ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE. — THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, AND THE PARTITION OF POLAND.

THE greatest man in Vienna, under Maria Theresa, was Prince Kaunitz. He became the Richelieu of Austria; but in a much more peaceful style than the sanguinary French original. He did everything by diplomacy*; and

* The very significant term *corps diplomatique* was first used under Maria Theresa. Chancellor Fürst writes, in a report to his court in 1754, "*Corps diplomatique, nom qu'une dame donna un jour à ce corps nombreux de ministres étrangers à Vienne.*"

was the oracle of all the political intrigues of the eighteenth century, from the Seven Years' War down to the French revolution. He used therefore to be called "the Driver of the European Coach."

Wenceslaus Anthony, Prince Kaunitz, was born at Vienna, February 2nd, 1711. He was descended from an ancient Slavonic house in Moravia. Being one of the younger sons of a family of not less than twenty children, he was at first intended for the church; and in the then usual easy mode of providing for the cadets of the noble German houses, was made, when still in his cradle, a canon of Münster. But, as several of his brothers died, his prospects improved; and his mother, who, in her anxiety for his health, pampered the boy even to a ridiculous degree, had him now brought up for the civil service of the state. He first studied at Vienna, then went to the University of Leipzig, and at last to that of Leyden. Having completed his learned education, he travelled in the Netherlands, England, France, and Italy. On his return from what was then called the Grand Tour, he married, in 1736, the Countess Mary Ernestine of Starhemberg, a granddaughter of the heroic defender of Vienna during the great siege by the Turks. According to the English traveller Swinburne, she bore the character of a Messalina. She, however, died, after having been married to the prince for not more than thirteen years, in 1749.

Kaunitz passed through the usual diplomatic career of the Austrian nobles. In his twenty-sixth year, he first became an Imperial Aulic councillor; and in 1739, second assistant commissary to the Diet at Ratisbon. Having soon been noticed and preferred by Maria Theresa, he undertook, at the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession, the task of gaining the good-will of the Italian courts for his Imperial mistress, and of guarding against the landing of a French-Spanish force in Tuscany. From Florence, Kaunitz went to Rome; and from thence to

Turin. After having acquitted himself of his commission to the entire satisfaction of his royal mistress, he repaired to the Court of Brussels, to her sister the Archduchess-regent Maria Anna. During the period immediately preceding the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Kaunitz was ambassador in London (December, 1747—February, 1748). It was he who concluded that peace for Austria. Afterwards, he was for two years (1751—1753) ambassador in Paris.

The very first dispatch which Kaunitz sent from Turin to Vienna, was written in such a masterly style, that the minister Uhlefeld placed it on the table of the Empress with the prophetic words, "*here is your Majesty's first minister.*" And indeed, in 1753, Kaunitz, only in his forty-third year, was recalled from Paris to Vienna, to be placed at the head of the cabinet. In 1756, he brought about the famous alliance with France for the Seven Years' War; in 1764, one year after the peace of Hubertsburg, he was raised to the rank of prince.

Kaunitz was one of the most singular men who have ever lived. Sprung from an original Sclavonic race, he rose like a meteor in the official sky of Austria. In him the ponderous, but sterling and steady Austro-German character was, in a most peculiar and original manner, blended with the mercurial versatility of the French man of the world. It was a very just dispensation of fate, that the merit of having originated the alliance between Austria and France should have fallen to the lot of one who had succeeded in so felicitously tempering his rugged Sclavonic Austro-German nature with the easy grace of French manners. The political phenomenon of binding together the two rival powers, was not less wonderful than the moral one of having, in his own person, reconciled the discordant elements of those different nationalities.

Kaunitz, besides, was the most remarkable mixture of great and petty qualities. Just as in an almost fabulous

degree he had all the foibles of gallantry and vanity, he also was eminently possessed of the very sort of routine and diplomatic skill that was best fitted for the world in which he lived. He did the two greatest things which any man could have done in Austria; besides concluding the alliance with France, he overthrew the Jesuits.

In his younger days, Kaunitz plunged heart and soul into all the pleasures of French gallantry and fashionable vanity. In Brussels, he made love to the famous courtesan Proli; in Paris, to the celebrated prima donna Gabrieli, and to a host of more or less renowned grisettes of that gay capital. The Germanic steady assiduity with which he paid his court, and the equally Germanic good-natured illusion which he made to himself of the fidelity of his mistresses, became a subject for mirth to the French, who were better versed in the wicked ways of the world. His sentimental and somewhat stiff gallantry, which was not quite able to run apace with the volatile and airy fashionables of the gay world of Paris, had even publicly been ridiculed in Paris as well as in Brussels, by some very witty vaudevilles and caricatures. Yet, far from being discountenanced by these sallies, Kaunitz took his vantage ground in a manner which met with every acknowledgment from the French themselves. He used to face all those scurrilous attacks with a most imperturbable serenity of a kind entirely his own; and — returning the fire which had been directed against him — he would make sport of both libel and libellers, with such a singularly cool and well spiced satire, that even the most callous and impudent Frenchman stood amazed and confounded. By his Belgian mistress, Kaunitz had a son; who in the French revolution distinguished himself as a Jacobin at the worship of the "Goddess of Reason."

It happened with Kaunitz and Maria Theresa just as it did in later times with Metternich and the Emperor Francis. The prince in this respect so little restrained himself, as to take his mistresses with him to the very gates of the

Imperial palace when driving to an audience of the Empress. He there made them wait for him in the carriage; and, after having transacted business, returned to them direct from the sacred presence of Majesty. Being once remonstrated with by Maria Theresa about his free and easy conduct, the prince made the very expressive reply: "Madame, je suis venu ici pour parler des affaires de V. M. non des miennes." In his later years, the prince strictly eschewed every sensual enjoyment as disturbing the mind and injurious to health, which he valued more and more as he advanced in years. In appearance only, he retained the gallant manners of France.

What Napoleon was in the nineteeth century, Frederic of Prussia was considered to be in the eighteenth. It was against him that Austria and France concluded their alliance. Kaunitz was well aware that France, although she was allied to Prussia, bore no good-will to the upstart king, who, besides, was a Protestant king. Even in the first war, before the Peace of Breslau was so suddenly concluded, France had tried to deceive Prussia. Kaunitz, therefore, very adroitly insinuated "with what duplicity the Prussian king had acted in the two wars which he made for the acquisition of Silesia; how, after having concluded with the utmost secrecy, in 1741, the treaty of Oberschnellendorf, he had only kept up the appearance of war; how, thereupon, he had again suddenly concluded the Peace of Breslau, and, after his victory of Kesselsdorf, as suddenly the Peace of Dresden. Frederic had only made use of France as a tool, to play his own game behind the back of his ally."

Such was the language which Kaunitz used towards the French ambassador Count Saint-Severin, as far back as at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. He expressed himself in the same manner afterwards at Vienna in all his conversations with the chargé d'affaires Blondel, whom he endeavoured to gain over by all sorts of little attentions,

such as might flatter the vanity of the Frenchman. Thus, for instance, he arranged that Blondel was invited to the little comedies which the archduchesses performed before a select circle of favoured guests; and the envoy, highly gratified, did not fail to report home that the exclusive company comprised only the Papal Nuncio and the ambassadors of the maritime powers and of Venice. Blondel was even requested to write to Versailles that the Empress, at that time being with child, would ask the King of France to stand godfather in case an archduke should be born. And the same sentiments too, Kaunitz was wont to utter during the two years of his embassy to the French court. He paid his homage most assiduously to the all-powerful Madame de Pompadour, giving at Versailles brilliant fêtes to her; and the sultana, on her part, was perfectly enchanted with him. In Paris, on the other hand, he lived quite apart from the great world, like a private gentleman, in the society only of some ladies whom he had taken "under his protection." Marmontel, whom he was always pleased to see, one day reproached him, that he, the ambassador of the first power in Europe, after having established his household in the gorgeous saloons of the Palais Bourbon, would give no parties, dinners, or balls in them. Kaunitz replied, "I am in Paris for the sake of two things only—the business of my Empress, which I do well, and my pleasure, about which I have to consult none but myself. Living in style would only be a bore to me, and would put me under restraint. Besides, I am on very good terms with the only two persons whose favour is of any importance to me."

Kaunitz was the most zealous advocate and admirer of everything French; to him France appeared as the first country in Europe, whose alliance ought to be most earnestly courted. The maritime powers, which had been the allies of Austria for more than half a century, he hated from the bottom of his heart; England above all. He

was met half-way by a similar idiosyncrasy of his Imperial mistress. She too detested no one as cordially as she did "the bad man," Frederic. To humble that hateful enemy, she lent a willing ear to the suggestions of her subtle minister to risk herself with France.

The ground in Paris was certainly very slippery for an Austrian diplomatist, after all that had happened between the two courts during the times of Leopold I. A very characteristic incident occurred at the first audience of the Austrian ambassador-extraordinary, during the negotiations of the Peace of Rastadt in 1714. The envoy sent by Prince Eugene to Paris, was the Aulic councillor Christoph Pentenrieder; a very odd little man, hunchbacked, and blind of an eye, exceedingly lively and restless, and with much gesticulation. When he was first introduced to Louis XIV., the old monarch wanted to puzzle the Austrian diplomatist. When therefore Pentenrieder, after having delivered his credentials, began his speech with the usual formula, "*Sire, l'Empereur, mon maître;*" the king from his throne interrupted him, "*Plus haut, M. le Ministre!*" On which Pentenrieder, with the steady look and the unembarrassed air of a man of the world, began again, "*Sire, l'Empereur, mon maître.*" Louis a second time cut him short, by rudely repeating, "*Plus haut, M. le Ministre.*" Then Pentenrieder began his speech a third time: but now he shouted, "*L'Empereur, mon maître, Sire!*" to the no little dismay of the fawning courtiers, and to the amazement of Louis himself; who was now obliged to hear the Austrian envoy to the end. The latter, however, for all that, strictly remained within the bounds of respect and diplomatic propriety. But a real and cordial approach between France and Austria was, and remained as far off as ever, anxiously as Prince Eugene tried to bring it about as a counterpoise against the superciliousness of England.

Matters remained nearly in the same state, until Kaunitz

entered upon his embassy at the French court. His success was prodigious. During the two years from 1751—1753, he did more to conciliate the good-will of France than all his predecessors had done for the last forty years. Under the appearance of being completely immersed in all the frivolities of a man of fashion, and of caring for nothing besides the scandal of the day and the sauntering dissipation of Parisian gaiety and coxcombry; he steadily pursued his great object of detaching Austria from the maritime powers, but of doing it in such a way as at once to repair the loss of their support by the newly acquired friendship of France. Working for the same end, he never neglected an opportunity of exciting against Frederic the fear and hatred of the court of Versailles; a task in which he was very effectively aided by the philosophic king himself, who, with bitter Aristophanic satire, used unmercifully to lash Louis XV., his mistresses and favourites, and to ridicule his mode of life and the position of France.

At the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the court of Vienna had offered to that of Versailles the cession of Flanders and Brabant; demanding only, in return, an offensive and defensive alliance, and a formal guarantee of the restoration of Silesia. The French court, however, had declined to break its alliance with Prussia, the stipulated term of which was to expire only in 1756. Kaunitz now obtained gratuitously from France what at Aix-la-Chapelle, faithful to her obligations, she had refused even with such a splendid bait. In vain Frederic offered to the French the renewal of the alliance—Kaunitz had completely undermined him.

Not content with egging on the court of Versailles, Kaunitz did the same with George II. of England and with the Empress Elizabeth of Russia, both of whom Frederic had likewise been reckless enough to offend by his satire. Availing himself of their prejudices against the King of Prussia, Kaunitz kept up their irritation by subtle

and well-timed insinuations, which more and more alarmed them. In these intrigues, he even made use of Prussian despatches intercepted in the post of the Empire.

The post, a monopoly granted throughout the German Empire to Prince Tour (Thurn) and Taxis, had long been an invaluable auxiliary of all the intrigues and machinations of Austrian diplomacy. The services rendered by it were indeed of greater value to the Imperial court than those of all its diplomatists together. The most important secrets were not got at by the ambassadors; but from the intercepted despatches. This abuse of the Imperial post dated from the days of Maximilian I. Even at that time, the secrecy of the post was violated by the head of the Empire, to find out the plans of the German princes, and the plots of the Flemings and of the Milanese. In this way, Charles V. was always informed of all the steps of the Protestant princes. The Landgrave Philip of Hesse, especially, who was very imprudent in this respect, paid very dearly for the intelligence which the Emperor had gleaned from his despatches to the different cities, in which Philip used to speak in rather an unseemly manner of his Imperial Majesty. Maurice of Saxony was much more cautious; yet, notwithstanding his wrapping himself up in the most profound secrecy, certain things transpired which enabled Charles to escape from Innsbruck. The Friedländer knew perfectly well what he was about when he gave nothing in writing. Since the days of Leopold I., the practice of opening the letters in the post began to be carried on quite systematically. The Imperial court, in this way, made the most important discoveries concerning the machinations of the cabinets and other political intrigues. As soon as anything very dangerous was discovered, the government suddenly struck a decisive blow.

At all the central points of the Empire, as well as at those where the great high roads of Germany cross, post-lodges—secret offices for opening letters—were established.

The post-masters were confidential persons, whose places were sometimes handed down from father to son for centuries. The principal stations for these interceptions were Eisenach, Frankfort, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Ratisbon, the seat of the Diet; moreover, the Hanseatic towns, especially Bremen and Hamburg, and the capitals of the spiritual princes — Mayence in particular. In all these post-lodges, the people, like false coiners, were at work for the interest of the House of Habsburg-Austria. They all of them enjoyed the utmost confidence of the government, and from their ranks quite a distinct set of the lower Austrian aristocracy sprung up.*

After having remained two years at his embassy in Paris, Kaunitz was recalled to Vienna. The question long mooted was to be decided there in the Conference Council, whether the alliance with the maritime powers and Savoy, or that with France, was to be preferred.

There has always been a party at the court of Vienna, to which the dependence of Austria on the maritime powers was a sad stumbling-block. But, notwithstanding this aversion, the heretical *Defensor Fidei*, and the heretical Mynheers were very badly wanted for the sake of the harassing financial point. If the maritime powers should withdraw their aid from Austria, the Austrian aristocracy was in danger of losing certain advantages, which until then they had quietly enjoyed under the protection of that famous maxim, that it was derogatory to the Imperial dignity to look closely into the accounts of the treasury. The money point, therefore, was a very thorny one in the decision on the old political system, so far as the maritime powers were concerned.

* The second wife of Prince Metternich, Antonia von Leykam, belonged to a family of such postal upstarts. This class comprised also that Count Vrindts, of Treuenfeld, who, not many years ago, was postmaster-general at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. His ancestors had, for many generations, been Imperial postmasters at Bremen.

With regard to Savoy, the question was much more easy. It was wanted as the guardian of Lombardy, just as the maritime powers were the guardians of the Netherlands. But the friendship of Savoy also had been paid for at rather a high price. The shrewd Victor Amadeus had plainly spoken out: "Lombardy is mine; but I'll eat it up only bit by bit like an artichoke." And certainly his alliance had to be purchased by one province after the other. On his abdication in 1730, he was succeeded by his son Victor Emanuel. For the latter, Maria Theresa had a very strong predilection. One day, as in the council of state she praised his high qualities and his useful services, —which likewise were very richly rewarded in 1735 with Novara and Tortona; and in 1743, with the territory of Pavia as far as the Ticino,—Kaunitz scarcely listened to her; so that the warm-tempered Empress was nearly beyond herself with anger. At last, Kaunitz, with his habitual serenity, replied: "In my humble opinion the King of Sardinia possesses every possible high quality; and, if there were no such thing as that confounded science, geography, he would be an honest man to boot." An alliance with France, as Kaunitz wished it, could not but prove an effectual check to that lust of aggrandisement which wanted to eat up countries "like artichokes."

When the question of the old and new alliance was proposed in the Conference Council, Kaunitz, as junior minister, had to vote last. The Empress presided, and the ministers present were, besides Kaunitz, the secretary of state Bartenstein; Count Corfitz Uhlefeld, "le bon homme," as Maria Theresa used to call him; Count Ferdinand Harrach, not very famous for his acuteness, a younger brother of the younger of the two celebrated ambassadors to Spain; the Imperial vice-chancellor, Count, afterwards Prince Rudolph Joseph Colloredo, one of the most gallant seigneurs of Vienna; Count, afterwards Prince John Joseph Khevenhüller, a little man,

very agreeable, and an accomplished courtier; and, lastly, the son of the beautiful Lory, Count Charles Bathiany, "Eugene's codicil:" who, although a man of very honourable character and a brave soldier, had none of the spirit of his mother, nor of that of Prince Eugene.

All these ministers voted for continuing the old alliance with the maritime powers, "the purveyors of money." Whilst they were giving their votes, and each in his turn propounding with great warmth all that could be said in support of their opinion, Kaunitz sat seemingly without taking the least interest in the discussion; only intent on the important operations of mending pens, pointing pencils, or, with the dandified care of a French gallant, brushing or blowing atoms of dust from his fine coat, and also now and then making his repeater strike the hour. The vivacious Empress, who had so often been enraged at his petrified listlessness during the harangues of his prosing colleagues, sat this time quite placid.

At last, when the other gentlemen had done advocating the alliance with the maritime powers, Kaunitz spoke with such precision and such mastery of his subject, — with so much coolness, yet with so much power of conviction,—that his opinion at once gained the day. The Empress now publicly and most graciously pronounced for it; and, offering her hand to Kaunitz to kiss, dismissed the amazed ministers of the Conference Council. Three weeks after, the ministry was changed. Uhlefeld was made lord steward; Bartenstein was transferred as vice-chancellor to the Bohemian-Austrian chancellerie; and Kaunitz became privy states-chancellor and premier. It was found afterwards that the shrewd Kaunitz, in the new alliance, had not forgotten the important money question. The subsidies paid by France were enormous. According to the "Livre Rouge," they amounted, during the twelve years from 1757 to 1769, to not less than 82,652,479 livres.

Kaunitz no longer consulted any of his colleagues. He

occupied a position as premier such as no man had occupied in Austria since the times of Prince Lobkowitz. He took no notice whatever of Bartenstein; and when the latter, uneasy about this neglect, wrote to Kaunitz, that, during the last few days, he had twice called on him to pay him his respects, Kaunitz made no answer himself, but, as his only reply, sent the decree of the Empress which removed Bartenstein from the cabinet. Thus the political part of Bartenstein—who for more than a quarter of a century, under Charles VI. and Maria Theresa, had been more powerful than all the ministers and generals—was actually played to an end. Bartenstein outlived the Seven Years' War. He died in 1767. Two years after, Count Uhlefeld followed him to the grave.

The foreign ambassadors very soon became aware that with the close of Bartenstein's premiership affairs had considerably changed, and that henceforth the old approved expedient of bribery would do no longer. In 1774, Baron Fürst, who was sent as envoy-extraordinary to Vienna, reports that, "In the time of the late chancellor, the foreign ambassadors had an audience twice a week. Count Kaunitz has limited them to one day, Tuesday (on which Maria Theresa also gave audience to the ministers). Rising late, he is never visible before eleven o'clock. At two, every one goes to dinner. As the ambassadors have the precedence, and the other envoys and *chargés d'affaires* are admitted in the order of their arrival, one has frequently to wait for several hours without being able to speak to the minister. I have always managed better. But it one day happened to the envoys of Holland and Saxony that, after having waited until two o'clock, they were dismissed by a page without the minister himself, as in duty bound, making his appearance to offer apologies. Certain it is, that Count Kaunitz is possessed of much more judgment, polish, and knowledge than his predecessor Count Uhlefeld. But at that time, the foreign ministers were in a much better position.

The secretary of state, Bartenstein, then had the conduct of business. It was easier to get at the secrets of the cabinet. There were also various other ways to obtain one's ends. But Count Kaunitz not only is himself incorruptible, and much too cautious to betray himself; but his subordinates* also are almost inaccessible. I only once got a sight of them, at a dinner at the house of Baron Bekers, the Bavarian minister."

Kaunitz was placed at the head of affairs, in 1753. Ever since the time of his leaving Paris, he had kept up a constant correspondence with Madame de Pompadour; and he now resolved to do in Paris as he did in Vienna, to treat directly with the principal person. At his suggestion, Maria Theresa, the daughter of the Cæsars, stooped so low as to write to the all-powerful French sultana; and even to style her—"*Madame ma chère sœur et cousine.*" The Pompadour, in an affectionate and bantering answer, addressed her as "*Chère reine.*" When Francis, Maria Theresa's husband, heard this, he roared with laughter, and threw himself down on a couple of chairs with such vehemence, that they broke under his weight. Maria Theresa, however, remarked, "Well, but what is there to laugh at? Have not I written also to Farinelli?" †

* A principal person among these, was the referendary Frederic Binder, ennobled in 1759, as Baron Binder von Kriegelstein. He was a native of Westphalia, and enjoyed the unlimited confidence of his patron. He was a man of the highest character, and died at the age of seventy-four, in 1782, twelve years before Kaunitz. His successor as referendary was Anton Spielmann, a *parvenu*, "a born shoemaker's apprentice of Vienna," who was made a baron in 1791. Of the secretaries, special mention is due to Henry Gabriel Collenbach, who afterwards, as Aulic councillor, concluded, in 1763, the Peace of Hubertsburg with Herzberg. Maria Theresa, in that very year, made him a baron. Kaunitz did not expect to find any prominent talent in those who worked for him. He used to say, with regard to subordinates who had independent views of their own, "One ought not to multiply troubles. I undertake to battle with the work; but I will not have to battle with the man who does it for me."

† This celebrated Italian singer, whose influence was paramount at the

In 1775, the Pompadour overthrew the ministry in France. Her favourite, Abbé Bernis, the French ambassador at Venice, had secretly, in the course of the year 1754, been summoned to Vienna; and in 1755, after being recalled from Venice, he entered the French cabinet. The work of the great cardinal was destroyed in the boudoir of the Babiole, the villa of Madame de Pompadour near St. Cloud. France, which for 300 years had been the rival, and since Richelieu the deadly enemy of Austria, now became her ally. The papers of the Duc de Choiseul, only lately brought to light, have shown that the principal motive which induced King Louis XV. to join the alliance against Prussia was a religious one. *Protestantism was to be crushed in the person of Frederic II., who had come forward as its principal support on the Continent.* On the 5th of May, 1756, the treaty of alliance was ratified between the Austrian ambassador in Paris, Count George Starhemberg, and Abbé Bernis. The two principal Catholic powers, Austria and France, now for the first time entered the lists against the two Protestant ones of England and Prussia; who had concluded their league at Westminster on the 16th of January, 1756.

When the Treaty of Versailles became known, all the world stood amazed. Even in the council of state, it created the greatest sensation. When the affair was first announced there, Francis struck the table with his fist, and exclaimed, "Such an alliance is most unnatural, it can never take place;" after saying which, he left the council-room. The young Archduke Joseph asked his mother, "whether she could safely trust herself with France?" To which Maria Theresa replied by a dry parental reprimand.

The third war for the possession of Silesia,—the Seven Years' War,—now broke out.

Spanish court, had, previously to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, been induced to detach Spain from the French alliance; in doing which he not a little hastened the conclusion of the peace.

The general-in-chief of the Austrian army, Duke Charles of Lorraine, the brother-in-law of Maria Theresa, began this campaign as unluckily as he had left off the two last. He lost the battle of Prague, in 1757. Vienna was in the same danger as it had been in 1742; Frederic might have marched upon the capital with the whole of his force; but he did not as yet venture upon it. In this conjuncture, Leopold, Count von Daun, saved the monarchy by the great victory of Collin, in which Frederic was defeated for the first time. The Empress, in the joy of her heart, founded on this occasion the Order of Maria Theresa. Frederic, however, soon made up for his defeat near Collin in Bohemia, by defeating, in his turn, the Duke of Lorraine at Leuthen in Silesia. This latter victory was the greatest of the whole war, inasmuch as 21,000 Austrians, equal to two-thirds of the Prussian army, "the mounting guard of Berlin," as the Imperialists called it, were made prisoners; more might even have been taken, but the Prussians were obliged to let them off, as there was no possibility of escorting them.

The French army, even before this defeat of the Austrians, had fared worst at Rossbach in Thuringia. The French here lost all that military *prestige* which they had long enjoyed in Germany; and the contingent of the German Empire (Reichsarmee), which on that occasion had fought together with them, was thenceforth known under the name of the Run-away-army (Reissaus-armee).

The French minister Bernis soon became aware of the blunder which he had committed in combating Prussia for the benefit of Austria. He advised for peace. Kaunitz, on being apprised of it, wrote to Madame Pompadour; who at once dropped Bernis, and had the Duc de Choiseul, until then ambassador at Vienna, appointed in the place of the abbé.

After the important victory of Collin, Daun only once more succeeded in dealing a great blow against Frederic,

near Hochkirch in Lusatia, in 1758. Daun, however, was all but forced into it by Loudon. Daun, the Fabius of the Seven Years' War, was too cautious and circumspect, always keeping back and always hesitating. Besides this, he was *fettered in his operations by the Aulic Council of War*, whose president, Count Neipperg, the loser of the battle of Mollwitz, was not his friend; and Daun was too much of a court general to risk anything on his own responsibility. "His fat Excellency," as his great adversary used to call him, lost, in 1760, a decisive battle at Torgau in Saxony, which saved the Prussian monarchy.*

Richer laurels than those of Daun were earned by Gideon Baron von Loudon, descended from the Scotch family of that name; a branch of which had early emigrated to Livonia. Loudon, being born in that province, was originally a Russian subject. Having, at the age of fifteen, entered the Russian service, he fought under Münnich against the Turks, and rose to the rank of premier lieutenant. After the peace, he left Russia, where he did not feel at his ease, for Berlin, whither he was attracted by the star of the Great Frederic. Loudon had to wait long before he was admitted to an audience with Frederic; in the meanwhile, he earned a scanty living by copying writings. When at last he was admitted into the presence of the king, Frederic, after having for awhile fixed his keen glance upon him, said to those about him, "*La physiognomie de cet homme ne me revient pas!*" The royal philosopher took a dislike to his red hair and ill-favoured countenance. It was another instance of the wonderful luck of Austria, that two heroes, such as Eugene and Loudon, much greater generals than the native nobility ever brought forth, were driven towards her by the caprice of her two greatest enemies. After having, in 1758, given the advice for the surprise of the king near

* Daun died in 1766. He was married to Josepha, the daughter of Countess Fuchs, the all-powerful ex-governess of the Empress.

Hochkirch, Loudon, in conjunction with the Russian general Soltikoff, defeated Frederic at Kunnersdorf, near Frankfort on the Oder, almost to utter destruction; from which Frederic escaped only owing to the secret orders which Soltikoff had, who expressed himself to Loudon in these words: "*Je n'ai ni ordre, ni envie d'écraser le roi.*" In 1760, Loudon took the most important border fortress of Glatz; and in 1761, in an almost miraculous manner, without any siege, Schweidnitz,— merely by escalade, in a dark night. And now, for the first time, the Austrians were able to take their winter quarters in Silesia by the side of Frederic.

Kaunitz was not a little proud of having drawn out the genius of Loudon. After having been refused a commission by Frederic, Loudon had come, in the course of the first Silesian war, to Vienna. Here he got on very slowly. The first person who took him by the hand, was a stranger in the ante-chamber at Schönbrunn; who, after having got into conversation with him, offered him his interest. This stranger was no less a person than the Emperor Francis: who got for him a company in Trenck's corps of Pandours. After the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, he obtained his majority in one of the border regiments stationed on the Turkish frontier. There he studied military science for five years, and married a Sclavonic lady. She was neither handsome, rich, nor accomplished, nor did she bear him any children; but she erected to the hero, after his death, a monument on which the words, very characteristic of Austria, are inscribed, "*Nec Cæsar, nec patria, sed uxor posuit.*" As, at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, he was about to be left unemployed, he went to Vienna to complain. He was very nearly being sent back to the borders, with a severe reprimand for insubordination; when Elias von Hochstetten, a gentleman who had made his acquaintance at St. Petersburg, introduced him to Binder, and the latter brought him to Kaunitz. The

consequence was, that he left his garret at a tailor's in the Ungergasse (Hungary-lane), as lieutenant-colonel under Brown. Now he very soon rose to the rank of colonel; and in 1757, he was made a major-general. The patent of the latter appointment having been intercepted with the courier by the Prussian hussars; Frederic sent it, together with a flattering letter, to Loudon. After the victory of Kunnersdorf, he was promoted to the rank of general Feldzeugmeister.* Every new victory of Loudon's was a new triumph for Kaunitz, his patron. Loudon, however, whom Gellert once describes as "modest, grave, taciturn, half-melancholy, somewhat like myself," was not made for the court. His stern, haggard figure was quite out of place in the circles of the great world; and the war being over he retired to his country-seat, Hadersdorf-park, near Vienna. Even the great Emperor Joseph II., to his own loss, entertained a petty jealousy of the unostentatious hero; who, however, after the disaster of Lugos, caused the banner of Austria to float once more over the ramparts of Belgrade, as Prince Eugene had done before him.

All the military successes of Loudon were unavailing against the worst of evils which weighed on the Imperial court during the latter part of the Seven Years' War. Frederic issued victorious from the contest, merely, as he himself said, "*because he had kept the last dollar in his pocket.*" The money strait at Vienna was beyond description; the former prompt payments of England and Holland were now sorely missed. All the resources of Austria were exhausted; a heavy property tax, deduction from salaries, forced contributions even from the clergy,

* The Austrian general officers, in the times of Maria Theresa, ranked as follows:—

General field-marshals.
Generals of cavalry.
General Feldzeugmeister (generals).
General field-marshal-lieutenants (lieutenant-generals.)
General Feldwachtmeister (major-generals.)

and, as a last expedient, paper money, which was then first introduced, were no longer sufficient. At the Peace of Hubertsburg, in 1763, Silesia—the "dear Silesia," which the Empress could never forget—was to be left to "the bad man."

The alliance of Austria with France lasted until it was so sadly broken up by the French revolution. The French ambassador Breteuil was, after Kaunitz, the most influential man at Vienna.

The second great achievement of Kaunitz, was the expulsion of the men who, for two hundred years, had been the secret managers of the policy of the Imperial court—"the Spanish priests." He succeeded in ousting the reverend Fathers of the order of Jesus; who, after being so long all-powerful, had it is true at last become as hateful as the Knights Templars in their time. The abolition of the Society in Austria took place in 1772. The Empress had long recoiled from casting out these much dreaded ecclesiastics. Whenever the prince pressed her for her assent, she over and over again stated her opinion that the Jesuits were the mainstay of all authority. To the repeated and most urgent representations of the arch-chancellor, which she could not refute, she had only tears to oppose. At last, Kaunitz handed to her a paper containing a general confession of her own, which she had made to her spiritual director the Jesuit Father Hambacher, and which the latter had sent to the general of the order, Ricci. On the occasion of Ricci's being taken as a prisoner to the castle of St. Angelo, it had been found among his papers, and Pope Ganganelli had conveyed it from Rome to the prince. A considerable time before, Kaunitz had been put in possession of other secrets of the Jesuits by the apostate Joseph Monsperger, formerly a Jesuit of the Fourth Degree and Vow; who had by chance discovered a secret press in the chancelleric of the order in Vienna, from which he conveyed to Kaunitz those impor-

tant documents through one of the secretaries of the prince, named Harrer, an old schoolfellow of his. Kaunitz had put them aside and said nothing about them for several years, as all seemed not yet ripe for the overthrow of the society. The arch-chancellor now laid these papers also before the Empress; and Maria Theresa at last signed the decree for the expulsion of the order.

Kaunitz is justly considered as the statesman to whom the general suppression of the Jesuits in Europe, in the eighteenth century, is due. Pombal, Aranda, and Choiseul, the three ministers who put down the order in Portugal, Spain, and France, had formerly been ambassadors of their courts at Vienna, and had taken their cue from thence. At Rome, Kaunitz was only called, "*il ministro eretico.*" The arch-infidel Voltaire and the author of Tartuffe were his favourite authors.

Prince Metternich afterwards, with some modifications, returned to Maria Theresa's maxim that the Jesuits were the mainstay of authority.

The suppression of the order of the Jesuits took place in the same year as the partition of Poland. This also had to be forced from Maria Theresa.

As Kaunitz, by the French alliance, had changed the political system of Austria in the west, so also did he cause the great change of the system in the north and east, owing to which the preponderance in those parts fell now to Russia, under the Czarina Catherine. Kaunitz was the indirect author of the partition of Poland, the immense danger of which to Austria has been recognised only very long after its perpetration.

The signal for it was given by Austria's reclaiming the towns of the county of Zips, which, in the times of the Emperor Sigismund, had been pledged by Hungary to Poland. Maria Theresa had always had an instinctive dread of the neighbourhood of Russia. In a very important State letter to the Russian Empress Elizabeth, she

had signed herself, "My dearest Imperial sister's most faithful friend, but with my will never neighbour, Maria Theresa." * In 1770, during the second meeting of Joseph with Frederic II., at Neustadt in Moravia, where the Emperor was accompanied by Kaunitz, the latter was gained over by the King of Prussia. Frederic the Great being well aware that, without the consent of the all-powerful minister, he should never be able to overcome the scruples of Maria Theresa, exerted all his skill in conciliating the good-will of the prince. The Emperor of the Romans had brought from Vienna an Italian opera and a ballet, with the celebrated Noverre for principal dancer. At the representations, Frederic managed with consummate tact that Kaunitz should be seated between himself and the Emperor. The king then showed him a thousand little attentions, even took snuff from his box, and distinguished him by the most marked consideration; and Kaunitz, whose vanity was not able to resist the royal flatterer, soon entered into the plan which Frederic proposed. In 1772, Maria Theresa was made to sign the deed of partition, which, as usual, was drawn out "in the name of the holy and undivided Trinity." She did so, writing on the margin of the memorandum sent in by Kaunitz; "*Placet; because so many great and learned men wish it: but when I have been long dead, people will see what must come from this* VIOLATION OF EVERYTHING THAT UNTIL NOW HAS BEEN DEEMED HOLY AND RIGHT." † When the folio sheet was returned on which the memorandum of Kaunitz was written, a note in quarto, several

* In Maria Theresa's own orthography: "*Meiner allerliebsten Frauen Schwöster allergethreyste Freindin, aber mit meinem Willen niemals Nachbarin. Marie Theresia.*"

† "*Placet*, weil so viel grosse und gelehrte Männer es wollen: wenn ich aber schon längst todt bin, wird man erfahren, was aus dieser Verletzung, an allem, was bisher heilig und gerecht war, hervorgehen wird."

times commenced and corrected, was enclosed in it, in which the Empress spoke out as follows:—

"When all my countries were attacked, and I no longer knew where I might go quietly to lie in, I stood stiff on my good right and the help of God. But in this affair, when not only clear justice cries to Heaven against us, but also all fairness and common sense condemns us, I must confess that all the days of my life I have never felt so troubled, and am ashamed to show myself before the people. Let the prince consider what an example we give to the world, when, for a miserable slice of Poland or of Moldavia and Wallachia, we risk the loss of our honour and reputation. I feel that I am alone, and no longer in health and strength; and therefore, although not without my greatest sorrow, I allow matters to take their own course."*

In the secret treaty between Russia and Prussia, one of the principal points stipulated had been, "War against Austria, if she refuses to assent to the partition." Maria Theresa, on the other hand, wept with the heroic Polish Countess Wielopolska; who afterwards committed suicide when the Polish patriots had to fly to all parts of the world.

Kaunitz, who presided over the destinies of Austria, was tall, well made, muscular, of rather a lithe figure; his complexion was milk-white, his hair blonde, his eyes blue, very fine, and although ordinarily of a calm expression, yet now and then flashing with the keen glance of the eagle;

* In Maria Theresa's own words and spelling:—"Als alle Meinc Länder angefochten wurden, und gar nit mehr wusste, wo ruhig niederkommen sollte, steiffete ich mich auf mein gutes Recht und den beistand Gottes! Aber in dieser Sach, wo nit allein das offenbare Recht himmel schreient widcr Uns ist, muess bekhennen, dass so zeitlebens nit beängstiget mich befunden und mich sehen zulassen schäme. Bedenk der Fürst was wir aller Welt für ein Exempel geben, wenn wir für ein ellendes stuk oder von der Moldau und Wallachey unnser ehr und reputation in die Schanz schlagen? Ich mcrkh woll, dass ich allein bin und nit mehr *en vigeur*, darum lasse ich die sachen, jedoch nit ohne meinen grössten Gram, ihren Weg gehen."

his brow was a little arched, his nose aquiline, his chin somewhat prominent, his mouth delicately formed and rather small. Kaunitz used to wear a remarkable tie-wig with a profusion of curls, which, to cover every wrinkle on his forehead, ran across it in a zigzag line. He seems to have been the inventor of the art of powdering, practised also by the famous Prince de Ligne; who used to walk to and fro through a double line of servants, each of whom had a different shade of hair-powder, white, blue, yellow, and pink, to throw at his wig, which, after this combined operation, exhibited what was considered to be the perfection of evenness and colouring. "From the very beginning of his being in power," Baron Fürst writes, "Kaunitz placed himself above the court etiquette. With the Spanish costume he wore white (instead of red) stockings, and made his appearance with a bag to his wig, and with a large muff. Although he had been told to comply with existing customs, he would not always do so. He was everywhere, except when at court, accompanied by a large bull-dog."

Kaunitz was always dressed in good taste, and on particular occasions even with magnificence; but never gorgeously, nor did he ever wear embroidery. Not even at court, did he make his appearance *en grande parure* with a small sword. In his later days, he was always seen in black shorts, black stockings, and black shoes with gold buckles. He always wore the star of the Golden Fleece. He had also received from the Empress the Order of St Stephen, with the permission, never granted to any other subject, of wearing it in diamonds.

The prince, during the whole of his life, paid particular attention to his toilet, which was at all times to him an affair of paramount importance. Even on the morning when he knew his Imperial mistress to be dying, he causep himself to be dressed and powdered with his usual precision.

He was just as exact and methodical in all his doings.

In the morning and evening of every day, he arranged his writing table with the strictest symmetry, putting pens and pencils, piece by piece, parallel to each other; also, whilst dictating to his secretary, he would frequently wipe the dust from the vases, picture-frames, and chests in his room. Every evening he noted down on a paper all that he intended to do on the following day.

The prince resided at the arch-chancellery, which was connected by a gallery with the Hofburg; and during the summer, in his charming and most elegant garden-palace at Mariahilf, which he himself had built; or at Laxenburg, where he likewise had built an elegant mansion, between the years 1770 and 1780.

Every morning he awoke at nine o'clock, and began to work with his secretaries from eleven to twelve; remaining all the while in bed, as his chamber was also his principal room of business. Even Joseph, when Emperor, came to him there. Kaunitz very rarely read or wrote anything himself; but had always some one to read to him, and dictated everything. Whilst listening or speaking, he sat stiff and immoveable. Equally stiff and erect was his gait, even in his eightieth year. His manner of saluting also was very characteristic; it was scarcely more than a nod, his friends being at the same time acknowledged with a paternal smile, and all the rest with the air of a protector. He always spoke slowly and deliberately, looking, as Charles V. used to do, either upwards or fixedly before him. He never under any circumstances betrayed, either by his gait or by his speech, any inward emotion, however strongly he might feel it. Many who lived with him for years, have stated that, like Louis XIV., he had never been seen to laugh.

Kaunitz stuck so tenaciously to French manners that, according to Baron Fürst, to play the part of a French *petit-maître* to perfection, he murdered his own mother tongue. This affectation rendered him obnoxious to the

Austrians of the old school, in addition to his many other enemies and rivals. All that he had about him, was to be French; his dress, his linen, his furniture, his trinkets, nick-nacks, and watches, he had sent to him from Paris.

But, under all this outward show of French foppery and elegance, this extraordinary man concealed a most substantial groundwork of sterling German earnestness and solidity. Kaunitz hated superficiality in business; he not only was capable of thorough-going and intense exertion, but the whole of his life was devoted in reality to deep thought and strenuously sustained work; and all his domestic arrangements, his daily diet and tender care for his health, were merely intended as means for maintaining in him that ease and freedom of mind which he conceived to be necessary for his graver purposes.

Kaunitz kept a very great house in Vienna, but the company which he entertained were not in any way allowed to interfere with his own daily routine and comfort. He every day kept an open table, covers being laid in the earlier part of his career for twelve, afterwards for sixteen or eighteen guests. But, as he used to send his invitations only on the same day, and very late, at an hour when most people had already accepted elsewhere, it would sometimes happen that only a few persons sat down with him. Dinner was served at his house at four, five, six, even sometimes as late as seven o'clock. The table was most exquisitely supplied; but the guests, according to the statement of the English tourist Swinburne, were expected not to touch certain particular dishes of the dessert which were reserved for the prince's own use. Swinburne asserts that, when he once neglected the warning which had been given on that score, Kaunitz sulked with him for several days.

The honors of the Hotel Kaunitz were done by the Countess Questenberg, the sister of the prince; a lady not at all popular with her own sex at Vienna. After her

death her place was supplied by the dowager Countess Clary; a lady who, at the age of fifteen, had married a man of seventy-five, and had lost him soon after her marriage. In the house of the prince, she was generally called "la petite veuve;" and Swinburne speaks of her as apparently very good-tempered, and as speaking English perfectly well—an accomplishment which, according to him, was then very common among the German ladies.

The diet of the prince was exceedingly simple. His breakfast, coffee as well as sugar, was weighed. At one o'clock, he took a cup of chocolate. At dinner, he partook only of a few dishes. At last, the whole of this meal consisted with him of a small chicken and rice; after which he ate no supper.

Besides keeping open table every day, he regularly had company in the evening; his guests amusing themselves with conversation and at the card-table. He himself generally played at billiards, but never at cards. He was always good-humoured: but in his *soirées* he never did the honors of the house; nor did he ever receive his guests, who, it is true, were thus left perfectly at their ease. At eleven o'clock, even when the Emperor Joseph was present, Kaunitz withdrew to go to bed.

If the prince accepted an invitation in any other house, his host, whatever might be his rank, had to allow Kaunitz's cook to supply the principal dishes of his master: who in this respect went so far as to have the wine, the bread, and even the water sent to him from his own house. Every one submitted to these conditions, as otherwise Kaunitz would not come at all. This peculiarity was not exactly owing to a dread of being poisoned, but to his anxious care for his health, as he was always fearful lest he should eat anything that might disorder his stomach.

After the meal,—whether at home or dining out,—Kaunitz would take from his pocket his famous apparatus for cleansing his mouth, and with the greatest unconcern use

it before the whole company for at least a quarter of an hour; during which operation he made all sorts of disagreeable noises. This apparatus consisted of a complete and most varied set of instruments; as, for instance, several small looking-glasses, to examine the teeth back and front, small linen rags, brushes, and other contrivances. Once, when he was preparing to do this at the table of the French ambassador Baron Breteuil, the latter said to his guests: "*Levons nous, le prince veut être seul.*" The prince, who was then left alone, used his instruments in solitude; but from that time he never dined out again.

At grand state dinners, Kaunitz only rarely made his appearance; visits of etiquette he never paid. In his earlier years he was very fond of the French theatre. Count Durazzo, the *directeur des spectacles*, was his best beloved and most intimate friend. Music was one of his favourite enjoyments. It was remarkable that he heard mass only in his own house, and the service was generally over in ten minutes.

Kaunitz never enjoyed fresh air;—it did not even agree with him. His carriages were hermetically closed. When, during the most oppressive heat of the dog-days, whilst not a breath of air was stirring, he for a wonder sat a short time in his arm-chair in the small garden near his official residence, or went the few steps from thence to the Hofburg on foot; he always carefully covered his mouth with a handkerchief. When he came to Maria Theresa, who generally had one or more windows open, and who, without any danger to her health, could sit for hours in the strongest draught; all the windows were immediately closed as soon as "the Prince" was announced. Kaunitz was spoken of simply as "the Prince," or, "our old Prince," not only by the Empress*, but also throughout

* Maria Theresa addressed her premier, just as she did all her people down to her valets, with *Er*, which otherwise is only used in addressing menial servants.

the whole Austrian monarchy. The only exercise which Kaunitz took, was at the billiard table and a ride on horseback. Every afternoon, before dinner, he rode three horses, each for the same number of minutes, in the riding school, which in winter was lighted up with a profusion of lamps. He kept horses from all parts of Europe. Only in the very warmest weather, he ventured to take a ride in a bosquet in his palace garden at Mariahilf. He had different suits of clothes, regulated according to the temperature of the day, to prevent his catching cold. Caroline Pichler states in her Memoirs, that, on this account, he covered himself with a number of black silk cloaks varying from one to nine, just as the weather might require. In all the rooms of his house thermometers were hung, to regulate the heat of the stoves. It was therefore no wonder that, with such an entire seclusion from fresh air, his complexion should be so white. But Kaunitz was never ill, and reached the ripe age of eighty-four years. If ever he was at all indisposed, he cured himself with an electuary, which he had brought from Paris, and of which he had a new supply sent to him by every courier.

No one has ever understood better than Kaunitz did, the art of making life pleasant to himself and to others. It must also be said, that no one has ever taken such anxious care of his life as he. Whatever could remind him of dying, was to be carefully kept in the background. All the persons usually about him were strictly forbidden to utter in his presence the words "death" and "small-pox." He had not himself been afflicted with this disorder; but he had been shocked by it in the case of the Empress. His readers received from him in writing an earnest injunction to eschew the use of those two obnoxious words. The wags would have it that even the "inoculation" of trees was not to be spoken of, because it reminded him of the inoculation of the small-pox. His birthday also was never to be alluded to. When the referendary Von Binder, for fifty

years his friend and confidant, died; Xaverius Raidt, the Prince's reader, expressed himself in this way: "Baron Binder is no longer to be found." The prince, after some moments' silence, replied: "Est il mort? Il étoit cependant assez vieux." Binder was one year and a half younger than Kaunitz. To another of his readers, Secretary Harrer, at that time a man of sixty, he once said: "Mais comment est-il possible, que de jeunes gens, comme vous, oublient des choses pareilles?" The news of the death of Frederic the Great reached him in this way: — his reader, with apparent absence of mind, told him that a courier had just arrived from Berlin at the Prussian ambassador's with the notifications of King Frederic *William*. Kaunitz sat for some time stiff and motionless in his arm-chair, showing no sign of having understood the hint. At last he rose, walked slowly through the room, then sat down and said, raising his arms to heaven, "Alas! when will such a king again ennoble the diadem!" When the Emperor Joseph died, the valet returned to Kaunitz a document, which the Emperor was to have signed, with the words: "The Emperor signs no more."

The death of his sister, Countess Questenberg, Kaunitz only knew when he saw his household in mourning. In a like manner, he once remained unacquainted with the recovery of one of his sons from severe illness, until the convalescent came in person to call on him; Kaunitz himself had never been to see him during his illness. To an old aunt of his he once sent from his table one of her favourite dishes — four years after her death.

About 1780, Kaunitz had five sons living. The two eldest were described by Swinburne as not very bright, but as well-bred and worthy men; the third and fourth, as downright *zeros;* and the fifth, as a sad *roué*. This last, Joseph Kaunitz, was his father's favourite. Notwithstanding his profligacy, he was a young man of great promise; but his father, for some trifling offence, refused to take

leave of him when he went to the distant embassy at St. Petersburg. From thence he had to go direct on another distant mission at Madrid, where he succeeded his brother Dominicus. Joseph Kaunitz several times asked for his recall: for death was on him, although he was still in his prime. Yet the father took it all for mere home-sickness and disgust with his office. When, at last, he had satisfied himself of the reality of the motive for the application, he sent the recall. But it was too late; the son died whilst embarking at the port of Alicant for Marseilles, on the 13th of February, 1785, after having scarcely completed his thirty-ninth year. The prince, without any previous preparation, received the news suddenly from the chargé d'affaires at Madrid; who had been unable to refrain from mingling something like reproach with the expression of his regret. With an impassible, as it were petrified, look Kaunitz dictated to Raidt, his reader, some orders in reference to the death of the ambassador; then, with his strength somewhat failing him, motioned Raidt away, with orders to wait outside and not to admit a soul. In about half an hour, the prince rang the bell; when Raidt entered, he was shocked to see him pale as death and completely cast down. He seemed to have wept bitterly; but he again, with his usual Jove-like air, waved his hand as a sign for the reader to be silent and to sit down, and then dictated a long despatch for the ambassador Count Mercy in Paris. This being done, he sent word not to wait dinner for him, and went to bed.

Of the three sons who survived Kaunitz, Ernest, the eldest, was ambassador at Rome and Naples, and then lord chamberlain; the second, Dominicus, whom his aunt, the Countess Questenberg, appointed her sole heir, was first ambassador in Turin and Spain, and afterwards master of the horse. The third, Francis, was a general. There was only one grandson, a son of Dominicus,—Prince Aloysius Kaunitz, married to a Countess Ungnad von

Weisenwolff. He died in 1848, at Paris; and with him the house of Prince Kaunitz became extinct, as he left only three daughters, married into the families of Starhemberg, Palffy, and Caroly.

The prince's ambition, — his ruling passion — had not a little admixture of vanity and conceit, which sometimes even extended to the most petty trifles. He *bonâ fide* considered himself as an oracle; in which character, he used to tutor and correct everybody. Kaunitz had such a transcendent opinion of his own superior merits, that he once said: "Heaven takes a hundred years to form a great genius for the regeneration of an empire, after which He rests a hundred years again; *this makes me tremble for the Austrian monarchy after my death!*" When he wished to bestow the highest praise on anything, he would say, "Even I could not have done it better!" Prince de Ligne, who once introduced a Russian to him, heard him say to the stranger, "I advise you, sir, to buy my portrait: for the people in your country will be glad to see the likeness of one of the most celebrated men—of a man who is the best horseman; who, as the best minister, has ruled this monarchy for the last fifteen years; who knows everything, is aware of everything, and understands everything. Schlosser writes in a letter from Vienna, in 1783, "Prince Kaunitz is upwards of seventy; but he every day takes a ride in his *manège*, in doing which, he gives himself the most ridiculous airs: he actually demeans himself on horseback like a madman. When he wants to run to the right or to the left, he pulls the reins to and fro with the full length of his arm; and if he reins in, he leans back with all his body. After having executed these manœuvres, he said to us with great complacency: "*Voilà comme il faut faire*; *on ne doit jamais voir, comment le cheval est gouverné. Qui le voit faire, doit croire que c'est par un ressort intérieur qu'il fait les tours.*" He liked to argue with the tailor about the best cut, and with the shoemaker about the most

suitable shape for a shoe. Even with a brickmaker, he would dispute about the best form of bricks. In fact, he thought that he knew all and everything better than any one else. At table, he would make the salad himself; once, however, he broke the twisted double glass cruet, with vinegar and oil, and spilled the contents over the ladies sitting near him. Another time, he wished to demonstrate to the company the only correct mode of drawing a bottle of champagne; and did it so cleverly that all the wine spirted into his sleeve and over his waistcoat. He had a mania for building. He constantly had something to repair or to pull down and to rebuild. He built his summer palace at Mariahilf, where he also had his fine picture-gallery; he built his villa at Laxenburg; he built a new castle and laid out a new garden at his estate of Austerlitz* near Brünn, in Moravia; the spot which has since become celebrated for "the battle of the three Emperors." The garden of Austerlitz was especially renowned for its most beautiful covered colonnades, which were built after the pattern of those at Marly.

Kaunitz first gave to the proud, and yet so sadly uneducated nobility of Austria, a very pointed example concerning the treatment of artists and men of letters; who until then had been treated with the most disgraceful brutality and superciliousness. Kaunitz, on the contrary, showed them every kindness, and even distinction; not only inviting them to his table, but also placing them by the side of princes and counts, and showing them marked attention above his titled guests. The celebrated composer Chevalier Gluck often dined at his table; and the prince, in the most flattering manner, addressed his conversation to him, without taking the least notice of the exalted personages present.

* King Ottocar of Bohemia is said to have bestowed Austerlitz in the thirteenth century on the Counts of Kaunitz as a reparation for Nicolsburg, which he gave to the Liechtensteins, and which now belongs to the Dietrichsteins.

Gluck had once an opportunity to show his gratitude by bestowing on his princely patron a peculiar distinction. The prince requested him to rehearse an opera before him; but Gluck expressed some doubts as to whether this would do without an audience. Kaunitz replied, "*Monsieur Gluck sachez que la qualité vaut bien la quantité; je suis moi seul une audience.*" Even for Noverre, the French *dieu de la danse*, Kaunitz once made the dinner wait. Only the day before, he had caused it to be served, although an ambassador who was invited had not yet arrived. Nor did the prince confine his regard for men of genius and learning to empty compliments; they received more substantial tokens of his patronage, whenever the occasion required it. Foreign *savants*, like Robertson, whilst writing his "History of Charles V.," received from him the most ready support. Like Frederic the Great, he gave a marked preference to the French over the Germans. He spoke with equal fluency German, French, and Italian: but, as a rule, he made exclusive use of French as the medium of conversation. Italians he addressed in their own language only when they were not conversant with French. At table, he loved animated and unrestrained conversation; the favourite topics being the mechanical arts, anything connected with building, artistic architecture, and what, in the sporting language of our own days, would be called "the Road." Politics were very rarely introduced; history only occasionally. One day, when the guests were too demure and submissive to talk, he forgot himself so far as loudly to say to the lady who did the honours of his house, "But what stupid company you have invited to-day!"

His frankness indeed was sometimes neither more nor less than the rudeness of a cynic, even when ladies were in the case. If any of his fair guests came up to his chair smelling of scents, which he detested; he unceremoniously drove her away with the words, "Allez vous en, madame, vous puez!" He was fond of teasing people; but he sometimes

got more than he had bargained for. At a time when the prime of his physical and intellectual powers was long past, he once tried it on with Marquis Lucchesini, the clever and witty ambassador and friend of Frederic the Great. Kaunitz asked him, "M. le Marquis, dites moi, à quoi sert la mathématique?" The marquis at once replied, "Pour mésurer les hauteurs, *Votre Altesse!*" The French ambassador M. de Breteuil was the only person in whose favour the prince thought it worth his while to make an exception from the off-handed way in which he treated every one of his guests, even the Emperor and the Empress.

Yet, notwithstanding all his vanity, dread of death, and self-idolatry, Kaunitz was the necessary man for Austria; and as such he maintained his post during two such different reigns as those of Maria Theresa and of Joseph II. He was the founder of the greatness of Austria under the new Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty, not only in her foreign relations, but likewise in her home government. After a long and expensive war, he succeeded in introducing order into the chaos of Austrian finance; in paying off the public debt; and in completely restoring the credit of the state.* With the same steadiness and circumspection, Kaunitz managed the foreign affairs. According to Hormayr it was his policy as much as possible to attach the foreign ambassadors to Vienna by marriages, and amours, by paying their debts, and by inducing them to buy houses and landed property; as in this way he expected to find in them eloquent defenders and advocates of his plans at their own courts. With regard to the Austrian embassies to

* The prince had only to say to the court banker Baron Fries, we want so and so many millions, which will be repaid within such a time; and the banker wrote off to his correspondents, to Madame Nettine at Brussels, to M. de la Borde, and others, and the loan was immediately concluded. When the time arrived for repayment, the necessary funds were sure to be forthcoming.

foreign countries, he followed a three-fold system. To Petersburg, to Paris, to London, to Italy, and the Spanish peninsula, he sent men who were fitted to engage in any intrigue however daring or lascivious. They were, at the same time, enjoined to keep all those vagabond adventurers, bankrupt literati and artists, mountebanks, and idlers of every sort at a respectful distance. The latter sort of gentry were, on the other hand, most extensively employed at the small legations within the German Empire; Vienna and Ratisbon, especially, were teeming with them. They were the paid spies and low jobbers of the supreme government. Berlin was the only embassy on German ground which was kept free from these disreputable hangers on. To that court, Kaunitz was always anxious to send only the most eminent and respectable men, distinguished either by their learning and accomplishments, or by their high birth. To the Prussian court, Kaunitz paid another sort of attention of a less friendly and honourable description; the key to the Prussian cyphers had long been found out, and all the Prussian cabinet couriers, except two, were in the pay of Austria. No sooner therefore did a Prussian cabinet messenger arrive at the Austrian frontier, than his bag was opened and thoroughly examined by the Austrian agents, who entered the carriage with him. The Austrian agents, after having done their work on the road, proceeded from the last station before Vienna alone; and thus the Berlin despatches reached Kaunitz at his hotel at the same hour that they were eagerly perused by the Prussian minister at his own office.

Owing to these and other diplomatic devices, Kaunitz was really the master of peace and war at the court of Vienna. In his character as "driver of the European coach," he ruled effete Europe simply and systematically by two leading maxims: in the first place, "One should never do anything oneself which one may have done by others"; secondly, "In politics one should never deem

anything impossible, as a clever man may carry out everything."

On the other hand, Kaunitz had good sense enough to be the declared enemy of lies; which he looked upon only as an expedient of ignorance. Dutens was once, at an assembly, kept in conversation by him without any particular subject to discuss; yet, when he wanted to leave him, the prince begged him to stay. "Do not go," Kaunitz said, "I see there Prince * * *, who only watches his opportunity to speak to me; but he is a liar; I do not feel comfortable with him, and therefore I will not have anything to say to him."

Kaunitz was always full of plans and projects. He had a very strong sense of the importance of Germany to Austria; on which subject he dictated to his private secretaries and readers maxims and ideas which, as Hormayr tells us, may, for the honour of the Nestor of Austria, sooner or later be brought to light. Kaunitz wished to re-establish Poland under a hereditary king. He wished also to restore the old powerful kingdom of Hungary, from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, with free navigation of the Danube and of the seas. This had been a favourite idea of Prince Eugene's before him.

The principal aim of the prince, was to connect Austria Proper with her outlying Swabian provinces by gaining possession of Bavaria. This plan he twice took in hand; once, in 1777, at the extinction of the electoral line of Bavaria; and the second time, in 1784. In the first instance, Frederic the Great interposed, by undertaking in his old age, and greatly to his own inconvenience, the war of the Bavarian succession; and in the second, he foiled the Austrian plan by establishing the league of the German princes.

The opportunity in the year 1784, was indeed uncommonly favourable. Charles Theodore, the Elector Palatine, who had inherited Bavaria, entertained a deeply-rooted

dislike to his newly-acquired country; besides, he was sixty years of age and without children, the heir-presumptive being a boy of nine years, the son of Duke Charles of Zweibrücken (Deux-Ponts). Kaunitz put himself in correspondence with the Russian minister at Munich, Count Romanzow; and had the negotiations set on foot by the Austrian minister there, the Count Ludwig Lehrbach, who afterwards incurred the suspicion of having had a hand in the murder of the French ambassadors at Rastadt. Charles Theodore was offered, instead of Bavaria, the Austrian provinces in the Netherlands, which, together with the ancient Palatine duchies of Juliers and Berg, would have been formed into a kingdom of Burgundy. The negotiations were carried on with the strictest secrecy. And now again, as had been the case at the time of the Spanish Succession, a death occurred. Just as in 1699 the electoral Prince of Bavaria died suddenly, thus it happened also in the case of Prince Charles Augustus Frederic of Zweibrücken; the former having been the heir-presumptive of Spain, the latter of Bavaria. The young Prince of Zweibrücken died on the 21st of August, 1784. From one end of Bavaria to the other, the people pointed out Count Lehrbach and Prince Christian of Waldeck as having, in the interest of Austria, rendered the same service which Prince Mansfeldt, the Austrian ambassador at Madrid, had done in his time for removing the obstacles of the Austrian Succession in Spain. After the death of this young prince, two persons only stood in the way of Austria; the two brothers, Charles of Zweibrücken, who had lost his only son and heir, and Maximilian of Birkenfeld, who at that time was not yet married.* To Duke Charles of Zweibrücken there was offered 1,000,000 florins, and to Maximilian of Birkenfeld

* His son, King Louis, the builder of the Walhalla and admirer of Lola Montes, was born in 1786.

500,000, if they would renounce their claims to Bavaria. But, notwithstanding all the attempts at intimidation which Romanzow made against the Duke of Zweibrücken, the latter refused to consent, and at last applied to Berlin. Thus the scheme transpired. This happened in the beginning of the year 1785. Frederic the Great then lost no time in establishing the "League of the German Princes," as a strong barrier against this Austrian project of territorial barter.

Kaunitz, who aimed at the acquisition of all the southern provinces of Germany between Austria and the Rhine, entered likewise into negotiations with Duke Charles of Würtemberg for the purpose of making that small potentate give up his own country to Austria in exchange for Modena. A secret treaty was concluded with that view, in 1771. This project also was frustrated by the great Frederic.

A more dangerous scheme even than this barter of territory, put the secret policy of Austria face to face with Prussia; and here also Frederic carried the day. This plan, which in reality is the true key to the startling French Alliance, consisted in neither more nor less *than the attempt of bringing Germany back to the bosom of the Church of Rome;* not by open force,—as this expedient had failed in the Thirty Years' War,—but quietly and stealthily, by underhand machinations. These attempts date as far back as to the end of the seventeenth century, to the Peace of Ryswick in 1697; the fourth article of which contained the stipulation that 1922 places of the Palatinate, where Louis XIV., during his usurped occupation, had forcibly re-established Popery, should remain Roman Catholic, even after being restored to their legitimate owner. In the same year, the Elector of Saxony, to be qualified to wear the crown of Poland, turned Papist. From that time, Rome, with the help of Austria, was secretly at work in trying to gain more and more ground

in Germany. Then followed the religious persecutions in the Calvinist Palatinate, since 1685 under the sway of the *converted* branch of Neuburg, from which Leopold I., in 1676, and the last Habsburger in Spain, in 1690, chose their wives. The two last Emperors of the direct Habsburg line were married into the *converted* offshoot of the house of Brunswick; Joseph I. taking for his wife, in 1699, Amalia of Hanover, and Charles VI., in 1708, Elizabeth of Brunswick. Only the failing of these converted branches of the Guelphic house, and (most of all) the succession of the Lutheran line of the house of Hanover to the throne of England, saved the Protestant religion from ruin. Similar persecutions as in the Palatinate, the unfortunate inhabitants of which emigrated in crowds to England and Pennsylvania, took place in some of the Hohenlohe principalities; and in 1732, the great Salzburg emigration followed. In Würtemberg, a Papist succeeded in 1733, in the person of Duke Charles Alexander, whose sudden death,* in 1737, put a stop to his plan of leading

* The duke died suddenly of apoplexy, it is said in the arms of one of his mistresses; or, according to the popular legend current to this day, in the claws of the devil, who came in person to fetch him. The event happened late in the evening at Ludwigsburg. Every preparation had been made to have mass celebrated, next morning, at the principal church of Stuttgardt, the Stiftskirche. Immediately after the death of the duke, Colonel von Röder rode as courier on horseback to Stuttgardt, which he entered with a postilion blowing his horn before him. At once the cry spread through the whole town, "Duke Charles Alexander is dead!" All the bells were rung; the Protestant prelates and the members of the Estates, who were just assembled at Stuttgardt, and the whole mass of the people crowded with one accord to the Stiftskirche, where the paraphernalia of Popery were speedily taken down, and the *Te Deum* (*Nun danket Alle Gott*) was sung, as a thanksgiving for this merciful deliverance. The translator has these details from a member of his family, to whom they were related by an eye-witness.

The good people of Ludwigsburg still point out the spot, in a niche of the palace there, against which the prince of darkness had flung the body of his victim; some red stains in the sandstone giving countenance to the superstition.—*Transl.*

back his country into the bosom of the Roman Church; in the carrying out of which he was to have been aided by an army of 10,000 men sent by Count Schönborn, the Prince-bishop of Würzburg. And, lastly, the heir-apparent of Hesse Cassel was, in 1749, secretly converted to Popery, unknown even to his father. It was only owing to the strong arm and to the mighty spirit of Frederic the Great, that in Würtemberg and Hesse Cassel the succeeding rulers were again Protestant.

Kaunitz was the politician only of his own day; of what might be after him, he had not the least foreboding. He had implicit faith in the durability of the undermined and rotten monarchy of the *fleurs de lys*, and in the indestructibility of that Gothic monster ruin, the German Empire. His horizon was very circumscribed. He had no fear except of Prussia, because she ever and ever again crossed his immediate plans. Of the immense danger which threatened for the future from Russia, Kaunitz had not the most remote idea; although he lived to see nearly the whole of the astounding career of the Semiramis of the North, who survived him only by two years. This infatuation prevented him from foreseeing the immeasurably injurious consequences of making the cabinet of St. Petersburg *the guarantee of the Peace of Teschen* (which ended the war of the Bavarian Succession), *and moreover of all the treaties as far back as the Peace of Westphalia.* This step, which in reality was only meant as a demonstration against Prussia, and as a bait to her Russian ally, was thoroughly impolitic, because it was altogether unnecessary. Nor was it long before the mischief made itself felt, which was to be expected from that quarter. In the general settlement of the German Empire, after the Peace of Amiens, *Russia, on the strength of her having undertaken that guarantee, disposed with France of the destinies of Germany.*

After the terrible downfall of the French monarchy,

Kaunitz showed perfect political tact in his advice how to obviate the baneful effects of the French Revolution. With great judgment, he advised "to shut up the *materia peccans*, and to allow the fierce volcano of the French Revolution to exhaust itself within its own crater." When Kaunitz gave this advice, his credit was gone, and he was not listened to. He survived the catastrophe of Louis XVI. and Maria Antoinette, and died, in 1794, in his eighty-fourth year.

One quality of Kaunitz is still to be mentioned—his incorruptibility, by which he not only maintained his position at the accession of Joseph II., but also secured to himself the sincere respect of the new Emperor.

A remarkable instance is on record to prove how inaccessible Kaunitz was to bribery, whilst all around him—at court, in the bureaucracy, and in the army—the most barefaced corruption reigned paramount. Immense profits were made with public contracts. A very shrewd individual, wishing to obtain the interest of the prince, exerted himself to gain admittance to him in his private residence, although it was generally known that Kaunitz never received any one there. The man, without many words, at once offered the valet a considerable sum, promising to pay a much greater one to the prince himself, if he would admit him, and allow time to say only *one word*. Kaunitz, whose curiosity was excited, sent a message to the man that he might come; but enjoined him strictly to confine himself to his "one word." The contractor was forthwith introduced. The prince, after a few minutes, asked him what he wanted; whereupon the man, approached him in a solemn manner, slowly laid his finger upon his lips, and said, "Silence." After which he was dismissed. The premier then drove to the Conference Council, where, on that very day, the business of the contracts was going to be discussed. All the ministers spoke warmly for the man, and even Joseph himself joined in recommending him Kaunitz was *silent*.

At last, Joseph asked him why he had nothing to say to-day, whereas he had formerly spoken so strongly against the contractor. Kaunitz replied, "I have been promised such and such a sum for remaining silent. I wonder what my colleagues have got for speaking." The shrewd applicant got his contract.

Although Kaunitz—who was not particularly rich, and who wanted much money — would never have allowed himself to be bribed into anything, and least of all into an alliance; yet he not only thought it quite natural that friendly courts should send him rich presents in wines, horses, pictures, and other articles gratifying to his tastes; but he also accepted very considerable diplomatic gifts in money. The "*Livre rouge*," to which publicity was given in the Revolution of 1793, has shown, among other things, that Kaunitz, like Maria Theresa, derived large subsidies from France, which were included in the 82,652,479 livres sent from 1757 to 1769 to Vienna. It is true that Kaunitz is only once mentioned by name: The 8th of January, 1759, "100,000 *livres subside à M. le Comte de Kanit.*"

4. PERSONAL NOTICES OF MARIA THERESA.—EXTRAVAGANCE AT COURT.—COURT FESTIVITIES.—MARIA THERESA AS A MOTHER.

MARIA THERESA had been brought up by her father with Spartan simplicity and severity. In this respect, her youth was similar to that of her great adversary. She, too, like Frederic the Great, was strictly forbidden the use of coffee; even after she was married, the dearly-loved coffee-berries — the more eagerly coveted the more strictly they were withheld — could only be procured by the aid of a confidential chamber-woman, who smuggled them in in bandboxes, in the bag for the prayer-books, or in the pistol holsters of Maria Theresa's husband.

Her education had been very restricted. Her general

knowledge, therefore, was but of an inferior kind. Her acquaintance with history and geography was acquired only from a Jesuits' text-book. To the end of her life, she not only wrote ungrammatically all the languages which she had been taught, but also spelt them wretchedly. The foreign ones she spoke with the most ludicrous Germanisms. Her resolutions, billets, and notes — many of which were still extant in the Imperial family archives at Vienna — were very often, when the paper was filled, written over on all the four margins; and if this did not suffice, she either added an extra paper, or in a very original manner cut short her sentences, so that the reader had to guess the remainder. But Maria Theresa had a very large share of common sense. When she was not more than sixteen years of age, her father once, by way of trial, brought her to the Council of State, where the Polish election, after the death of Augustus the Strong, was to be discussed; and all those present were astonished — and not merely as in duty bound — at the shrewdness of Maria Theresa's questions, and the striking correctness of her judgment. Bartenstein noted what he heard, and kept it for ever afterwards in his memory.

Maria Theresa undoubtedly, being good-natured herself, found it easy to win the affections of her good-natured Austrian subjects, who were also charmed with her remarkable vivacity and sprightliness. She was accessible even to the most humble of her subjects. In the earlier part of her reign, audiences might be obtained without any difficulty whatever; afterwards, the applicants had to produce a card from the lord chamberlain, counter-signed by the minister with whose department the application was connected. Petitions the Empress accepted every morning at ten o'clock; at which hour, they might be delivered in the ante-chamber to the chamberlain on duty, or to the captain of the halberdiers on guard. A remarkable example of Maria Theresa's good-nature is given by the younger

Moser, the Hessian diplomatist. The Empress once forbade General Prince Christian of Löwenstein the court, for having made somewhat too free a use of his tongue. The prince, quite unabashed, made his appearance again the very next morning, as if nothing had happened. When the Empress saw him, she at once sent some one to take him to task for it. The prince, however, replied: "In Berlin, orders are given once for all; but in Vienna, they are repeated three times before they are obeyed." Maria Theresa, with hardly suppressed laughter, scolded about the "bad tongue" of the prince; but the prohibition was removed.

Maria Theresa's good-nature and affability enchanted her subjects the more, as it contrasted most forcibly with the stiff pride and the Chinese seclusion of the former rulers. Maria Theresa would now and then even harangue her faithful lieges in public; and that in the most homely manner possible. After the death of her husband, in 1765, Maria Theresa had long stayed away from the theatre, when, on the 12th of February, 1768, a son-and-heir* was born to the Grand-duke Leopold of Tuscany, Maria Theresa's second son, afterwards the Emperor Leopold II. She received the news in the evening, whilst working in her cabinet. Without farther ado, she rushed out in her plain house dress, or rather *negligé;* ran through the ante-chamber, the outer rooms and passages, into the theatre of the Hofburg; and, leaning far over the balustrade of the Imperial box, called with motherly triumph down into the pit, in the broadest Vienna dialect, "Poldel (Poldy, Leopold) has a boy; and just, as a token of remembrance, on my wedding-day; is n't he gallant?" The pit and the boxes were electrificd.

In her youth, she showed her lively temperament in her passionate fondness for dancing, and especially for mas-

* Afterwards the Emperor Francis II.

querades. The latter afforded her an opportunity of sometimes indulging in the merriest freaks. She once betted with her husband, that she would allow herself to be taken to the ball by a mask as partner, whom Francis, with all his remarkable acuteness, would never recognise. She chose the master of the mint Duval, whom the duke had once fallen in with in a wood near Luneville poring under an old oak over maps and books; and who having, under the patronage of Francis, made his way from a poor boy, was living as an oddity at the court of Vienna. Maria Theresa summoned him, through her woman of the bedchamber, Madame Gutenberg, to her apartments. When Duval entered, he was at once pounced upon by the young lady dressers of the Empress, and—notwithstanding his utter dismay and his piteous entreaties—disguised as what was called a "calender*;" after which he was acquainted with the part he was to play. The Empress said, "Well, Duval, I hope you consider it an honour; and mind, I dare you to betray yourself to the Emperor in any way! I expect you will dance a minuet with me." Duval replied, "Good heavens, in the wood I have learned nothing but to make somersets." "We wo'nt have any of these," retorted the Empress; "but never mind. I'll tell you in time what you are to do." From the moment that they entered the ballroom, the Emperor never lost sight of the ill-assorted couple; but, to his great mortification, he lost a considerable wager.

Count Podewils, in a despatch of the year 1747, reports that the Empress at that time was no longer so passionately fond of balls and masquerades as formerly; and that, although she was a very good performer on the harpsichord, and possessed of a fine voice, she did not care much for music; but that, on the other hand, she liked high play, and that she was a very bold horsewoman.

* A sort of Pierrot-mask.

As long as Maria Theresa was young and handsome, and as long as her tenderly beloved husband Francis lived, she paid much attention to her toilet, especially to her head-dress; giving thereby a world of trouble to her woman of the bed-chamber, Caroline von Greiner, the mother of the well known novel writer Caroline Pichler. Maria Theresa, to say the truth, was not altogether free from vanity; but she was much less so than Queen Bess or Catharine of Russia, her contemporary. The latter she loathed on account of her antecedents, and especially on account of the manner in which she got rid of her husband. Maria Theresa used to speak of her only as "*Cette femme*," and was every time seized with spasms when she was obliged to wite a letter to her. One vanity the Empress had,—but it was not a womanly one, on the contrary,—the vanity of showing herself as much masculine as possible. Count Podewils writes in a despatch of the 18th of June, 1747:—

"*Il semble qu'elle soit fachée d'être née femme. Il est certain que dans un temps elle a été serieusement intentionnée d'aller commander elle même ses armées.*"

In her later years, the Empress became very stout; and in 1767, two years after the death of her husband, she was sadly disfigured by the smallpox, which she had caught at the death-bed of her daughter-in-law, Joseph's first wife. She was then saved by her celebrated body-physician Baron Gerard Van Swieten; who had before saved the life of the Empress Elizabeth, and who was especially famous for his success in curing old people.* The day of Maria Theresa's recovery, was one of great rejoicing at Vienna. Some years after, however, the Empress was still more

* Van Swieten was a favourite of the Empress, and a very important man at Vienna; he held, besides other offices, that of president of the Board of Censorship, and was "prefect" of the Imperial library. He was a pupil of Boerhaave, the founder of the School of Medicine at Vienna; and he died in 1772.

disfigured in the face from being thrown out of her carriage. Like Frederic the Great, she used to drive at a tearing pace, and the horseguards had to ride by the side of her coach all the way. During one of her frequent visits to her daughter Christina at Pressburg, the carriage was overturned and the Empress fell on her face, and was so badly hurt, that her eyes were with difficulty saved.

The Empress—who at an early age had been successfully trained in the practice of Richelieu's well-known maxim, "*Dissimuler, c'est regner*"—had one weakness besides, but it was a very great one, devoteeism, by which she did incalculable mischief in a twofold way.

On the one hand, the work of proselytising was carried on with all the fanaticism of the Roman Propaganda, and with the violence of despotic rule. There had existed for many years in Austria a religious foundation of 600,000 florins, which was destined for pensions to converts. This class of people prospered most signally in Maria Theresa's reign; the Protestants, it is true, were tolerated, but always looked at with very jealous eyes. The Empress even caused Lutherans, who mustered in great numbers in Upper Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, to be removed to Transylvania, where the Saxon colony had enjoyed the right of the free exercise of their religion, and to the Banat. These transportations she called "transplantations," just as you transplant trees. She, the kind mother of her subjects, was so perfectly satisfied of these things being done *in majorem Dei gloriam,* as never to trouble herself for one moment with the thought that those poor people, by the forced sale of their property, could only realise very little; that therefore, on reaching Transylvania, where there was scarcely anything to be earned or bought, they had misery and ruin staring them in the face. The "religious commissions" kept a very strict surveillance on the Protestants; who, having to give up their books of devotion, were prevented from affording to their children proper

religious instruction. "And, notwithstanding all this," Baron Fürst writes, "there are said to be very considerable numbers of secret Protestants, who only outwardly share in Papist observances."

Maria Theresa did not feel the least scruple in taking by force Protestant heiresses away from their heretical parents, with a view to bring them up in convents, and afterwards to marry them to Roman Catholic courtiers. Thus, for instance, she caused the Countess Banffy, who was being brought up in the Helvetic confession at the house of a female relation in Transylvania, to be arrested by a detachment of soldiers, and to be educated as a Roman Catholic. The young lady became maid of honour to the Empress, and married (in 1778) Count John Esterhazy of Transylvania; who died as late as 1831. This match-making mania of the Empress sometimes led to very awkward consequences. Among others, she brought about a marriage between another of the Esterhazys — the good-natured Count Francis — and a very beautiful but very vicious young lady of the house of Starhemberg; who soon after her marriage ran away to Switzerland with a most interesting lady-killer, Count Schulemburg. The gentleman, having been claimed by the Austrian *chargé d'affaires*, was given up by the Swiss, and condemned to death as a seducer and adulterer. But, wonderful to relate, the injured husband himself was foremost in obtaining his release; and was most profuse in his expressions of gratitude towards Schulemburg, for having rid him of a bad woman.

On the other hand, the Empress was as fanatical in her measures for public morality as she was for religion. A well-meant and laudable zeal led her in this respect to very ill-judged measures. Foremost of these was the establishment of "Commissions of Chastity." Five hundred agents of these commissions were patrolling day and night to arrest young women who were walking by themselves, though their demeanour showed the greatest propriety; or

even if they were going on the most innocent errands, such as carrying or fetching work for gaining an honest livelihood. Those only were exempt from being interfered with, who, with their chaplet in their hands, might be supposed to be on their way to mass. Regularly every year, Maria Theresa sent a number of unfortunate girls to Sclavonia or to the Banat. It was said that jealousy had much to do with this rigour; yet certain it is, that she proceeded with equal rigour against young profligates of the male sex. The Prussian ambassador, Count Podewils, writes, 18th of January, 1747, "Il est constant qu'elle est fort jalouse de son époux et qu'elle fait tout au monde pour empêcher qu'il ne prenne quelque attachement. Elle a fait fort mauvais visage à quelques dames à qui l'Empereur commençoit à en conter. Elle voudroit par le même principe bannir toute galanterie de sa cour. Elle marque beaucoup de mépris pour les femmes qui ont des intrigues, et en témoigne presqu'autant pour les hommes, qui les recherchent. . . . . Elle cherche à éloigner de l'Empereur tous ceux qui donnent dans la galanterie. . . . Elle voudroit faire un ménage bourgeois."

At last, when she could no longer help it, Maria Theresa excused her husband on the plea of his idle life; and one day said to Madame Greiner, "Be warned, and never marry a man who has nothing to do."

Kaunitz made a very adroit use of the patronage which Maria Theresa bestowed on the Commissions of Chastity to further under the cover of them his secret police, which was established after the pattern of that of Paris, for which reason he kept up a correspondence with Sartines.

Flattery, otherwise such a dangerous snare to the female sex, had no power whatever over Maria Theresa, which proves what a fund of noble independence was in her. But so much the more readily she allowed herself to be deceived by the brotherhood of the Tartuffes. It was quite a common stratagem with them to place themselves

in the way of the Empress at mass and at vespers, and to attract her attention by a show of fervent prayer with prostrations and pious sighs and groans. The composition or translation of prayer-books and religious tracts, was likewise a sure road to the favour of the Empress. Her dressers and valets—sometimes being duped themselves, but in some cases deriving rich perquisites from it — lent their willing aid to these sanctimonious cheats. But even the highest persons of the Camarilla did not altogether disdain a show of devoteeism as means for their own purposes.

Maria Theresa was by no means free from the old immoderate Habsburg pride of "Olympic descent." When, in 1742, the brave French General Belleisle, offered to surrender Prague; she answered, "The surrender of his sword is not sufficient; I want the head of the incendiary." The aged Cardinal Fleury, in his second childhood, having addressed offers of peace to her; she declared, "I have humbled myself so far as to write to the cardinal letters which might have melted a heart of stone. He scorned my entreaties. Now I have not a word to say to him." She returned no answer to his letters, but had them printed. As to the poor people, who suffered much more severely by the warlike fury of the Empress than the enemy did, they never entered her thoughts. In 1743, whilst the war of the Austrian Succession was still at its height in Italy, she made over the marquisate of Finale to Sardinia. Yet she had not the least right to dispose of it, as the Genoese had purchased it. When the Genoese refused to evacuate the marquisate, she caused their city to be occupied by Austrian troops; and as, in her transcendent Cæsarean superciliousness, she quite innocently looked upon the Genoese as Austrian subjects, she expected the Doge and six senators to come to Vienna to sue for pardon. Upon this, a general insurrection of the Genoese drove the Austrian troops ignominiously from their city. Now the Austrian proclamations breathed a real frenzy of vindic-

tiveness and rage, and confounded every notion of right; the citizens of the republic were treated in it as traitors, so that it might almost have appeared as if any Hungarian captain had authority to inflict corporal punishment on the Doge and senators. The Genoese, however, laughed at all these despotic threats, and in the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748 had the marquisate of Finale expressly restored to them. In the war of the Austrian Succession, scarcely half of the troops had been kept for which England paid subsidies to Maria Theresa. The English government now demanded that the subsidies in future should be paid, one half on the 1st of January of each year, and the other only after the English commissaries had ascertained that the stipulated numbers were really kept. Against this control the pride of the Empress revolted, and for three years and a half she strenuously held out against it; only in the last year of the war, in 1748, she consented. Just as obstinately did she refuse to acknowledge Charles VII. of Bavaria, although he had been lawfully elected Emperor of Germany. This despotic spirit she showed also in another instance: for, in direct violation of the constitution of the Empire, and without taking any heed of the Salic law, which was notoriously in force throughout Germany, she conferred upon her husband the electoral vote for Bohemia, although she could never have possessed it herself.

Maria Theresa withal was very sensitive to the awards of public opinion. Whenever a new law was to be introduced, she used to say, "I wonder how Schlözer* will judge of it." This regard for public opinion even caused the Empress, notwithstanding her devoteeism, at least to keep the fanatical intolerance of the priesthood within bounds. Whereas, in 1730, even the wife of the Prussian ambassador, Von Brand, had been insulted with impunity

* The editor of the Göttinger Staatsanzeigen (Political News); a liberal periodical of great repute at that time.

by the populace for not having left her carriage to prostrate herself before the host, as the law of 1652 directed; the prostration was now only demanded from pedestrians, and for people in their carriages it sufficed to uncover their heads and bow, just as in meeting a friend. People were no longer allowed to flagellate themselves in public, or to carry the cross on their backs through the streets during Lent. A Papal bull of the 1st of September, 1753, having done away with a great number of holidays, the police tried strictly to carry out the change, which, of course, implied an increase of the number of working days; but for that very reason the new regulation could not be enforced, especially as the priests did their best to confirm the bigoted populace in its laziness. When, therefore, no one would avail himself of the newly granted liberty to work on those days, the government proceeded in rather an arbitary way, enforcing the thing which the bull only permitted. Workmen had a task set them at the public buildings in progress of construction, as *e. g.* at the theatre of the Hofburg; and the police insisted on the shops being opened. The intended object, however, was not attained. The sellers themselves drove away the customers on the old holidays, by simply demanding exorbitant prices. Thus the government grew tired of the affair, and left the matter pretty nearly as it had found it. The same happened with regard to the observance of Sunday, with this difference only, that the government wanted the people to keep the Sabbath as a day of rest, and the people on their side wanted to keep it as a working day; yet, as the vegetable and provision markets were still allowed to be open on Sundays, but were to be closed on the festivals of the Virgin, the natural consequence of all this confusion and incongruity was that things soon returned quietly to their former state.

As far as her religious prejudices did not interfere, Maria Theresa tried fairly to keep pace with other govern-

ments in improving by law reforms the condition of her subjects, and in giving encouragement to science and the fine arts and to every kind of intellectual progress. In these endeavours she was assisted by three very eminent men—by her body physician Van Swieten, who was president of the Supreme Board of Censorship; by Paul Joseph von Riegger, in ecclesiastical affairs; and by Joseph Baron von Sonnenfels, in law reforms. Sonnenfels had been raised by the Empress from the humblest ranks of society. He was descended from a Jewish family of Berlin, where his grandfather had been a Rabbi; his father had emigrated to Austria, and had been baptised there. Young Joseph first enlisted in an Austrian infantry regiment; afterwards he studied at the university in Vienna, of which, in 1773, he became a professor; then he edited several weekly periodicals; and at last, in 1779, he was appointed Aulic councillor by Maria Theresa. To him Austria owes the abolition of torture in 1776, and a number of other beneficial reforms. He died at Vienna in 1817, at the advanced age of eighty-four, as vice-president of the Commission for Law Reforms. Sonnenfels, on account of the freedom of speech in his writings, was repeatedly represented to the Empress as a scorner of religion and as a revolutionary.

Hormayr relates, that once when the censorship had struck out whole pages of Sonnenfels' periodical, Madame von Greiner, then lady reader to Maria Theresa, sent in his name through the Archduchess Caroline, — afterwards Queen of Naples, — even after the Empress had already sat down to her usual evening card-table. Maria Theresa, hasty as she was even in her old age, came out to Sonnenfels; and, stroking back with one hand her hair and her mob-cap from her forehead, and with the other still holding and quickly turning and twisting the cards, said to him, "What is it, are they teasing you again? What fault do they find with you? Have you written anything against us? If that's the case, you have our sincere pardon; a true

patriot must indeed sometimes become impatient. I know very well what you mean by it. Or against religion? but you are no fool! Against morality? I will not believe it, you are no blackguard! But *if you have written anything against ministers, well, my dear Sonnenfels, you will have to fight your own battles; I can't help you, I have warned you often enough.*" After having thus spoken her mind, the Empress returned to her card-table.

Maria Theresa, notwithstanding her Spartan education, spent a great deal of money. During the war of the Austrian Succession, Vienna was hardly freed from the danger of a siege, when at court balls of truly oriental magnificence, ridottos (masquerades) of two thousand persons, ballets, carousels, operas, spectacles, and festivals of every description followed one upon the heels of the other; so that the English several times publicly complained that the subsidies were certainly not granted for such purposes. And yet the young Queen had in all this only showed very great tact; it was her policy, in doing so most strikingly to display her firm confidence in the eventual success of what she considered to be her good cause.

In 1770, Dutens witnessed at Schlosshof, the former summer residence of Prince Eugene near Vienna, a most brilliant masquerade and fête given by the Empress. Although the palace was very spacious, a temporary building four hundred feet in length was erected, joining its front, which was lit up with upwards of 100,000 lamps. In the apartments of the palace, more than 1800 tapers were burning. There were present at the ball nearly 6000 persons; yet many more seem to have been expected, as supper was prepared for not less than 10,000. Every thing was so well provided for, that, in case of any accident, beds, physicians, surgeons, and even midwives were in attendance.

Five years after, Dr. Moore witnessed a grand masquerade at Schönbrunn, for which 4000 tickets had been

issued. A numerous party of dragoons kept order among the carriages along the road from Vienna. In three large halls on the ground-floor of the palace of Schönbrunn, tables were laid out with a cold collation consisting of poultry, ham, sweetmeats, pine-apples, and all sorts of fruit, with old hock and champagne in profusion. At the further end of the large dining-hall, was a raised seat for the Empress and for some ladies of her suite. Here some of the archdukes and archduchesses, together with some of the highest nobility, in all twenty-four persons, danced a splendid ballet; all of them dressed in white silk fancy dresses, trimmed with pink ribbons and blazing with diamonds. The Emperor Joseph mingled freely with the company, like any other guest, and the Empress seemed to enjoy herself heartily.

According to two statements* of Baron von Rotenstein of Pressburg, the court under Maria Theresa cost 3,400,000 florins, and the pensions another million. The Imperial stables contained 2,200 horses. Every year, 12,000 cords of firewood were burnt at court. The furniture of the large ante-room, which was called the "Gilt Hall of Mirrors," where the Empress used to dine in public, cost 90,000 florins; the gold embroidered canopy under which the table stood, 30,000. The massive gold dinner-service for eighteen persons, weighed four and a half hundredweights and was valued at 1,300,000 florins. Each of the fifty-eight plates cost 2000 florins; twenty sets of knives, forks and spoons weighed 900 marks. The most magnificent piece of all was the epergne, half an ell in height, with a large trellised golden pannier, containing sixty-eight flowers of china, and weighing by itself 160 marks. It was very remarkable that these precious articles were procured during the most distressing period of the Seven Years' War, 1760: it was the Emperor Francis who had ordered them.

A considerable item in the expenses assigned to the

* Vols. viii. and xiii. of Bernoulli's "Archives."

privy purse of Maria Theresa, were the alms and gratuities; which, according to Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, amounted yearly to 700,000 florins. Whoever went over from Protestantism to Popery, or married one of her favourite ladies or attendants, received a considerable pension for life — sometimes 2000 or 3000 florins, or in some cases a lucrative post in the public service.

Large sums were taken up by the changes in the highest offices of state or of the ministries. The new ministers had palaces given to them, or the old quarters were repaired and newly and sumptuously furnished for them. The great ministerial change of 1753, owing to which Kaunitz was placed at the head of affairs, cost 1,000,000 florins. Bartenstein received for the loss of his place 100,000 florins; as much was paid for the debts of Count Uhlefeld, who received, besides, 30,000 florins in hard cash to buy a house, in consideration of having lost his quarters at the Chancellerie. The new official residence which was got up for Count Choteck, cost nearly 300,000 florins; in addition to which he received 12,000 more, to enlarge his palace in the suburbs. The enlargement of the Bohemian Chancellerie for Count Haugwitz, cost at least 250,000 florins.

Maria Theresa, moreover, required very heavy sums for her numerous family. The daughters of the Empress were most richly endowed on their marriage, and afterwards received magnificent gifts at the birth of every child; the sons, besides a splendid outfit, had very handsome sums of money allowed them when they went on their travels. Maria Theresa was naturally of a most liberal disposition and exceedingly open-handed; she never went out for a drive without filling her pockets with Kremnitz ducats, which, with the greatest affability and good-natured benevolence, she flung out of her coach windows to all sorts of poor, to common soldiers and soldiers' wives. Frederic the Great dispensed copper, Maria Theresa gold.

In this manner, Maria Theresa took for her own yearly

expenditure on the whole, 6,000,000 florins (600,000*l.*), whilst Frederic the Great spent not more than 220,000 dollars (about 31,500*l.*) a year. She, on her side, acted on the profound conviction that, as there was only one fold and one shepherd, so all the hearts and purses of her subjects were without reserve her own. In her good-nature she completely forgot that, as Hormayr says, "the princes to give much to the one, must take much from the other."

To raise the large sums necessary for this "Olympic" munificence, every means seemed right and just to the monarch who otherwise prided herself on being such a conscientious Christian. Thus she connived at all those crafty stratagems of Haugwitz for obtaining the "contribution"; and likewise at the oppressive system of customs established by Choteck. One of the greatest scourges, however, which the "Mother of the country" bestowed upon her subjects was the lottery, for which the Chevalier Cataldo, in 1754, received a license. He paid to the Empress for every drawing—one every three weeks—a sum of 10,000 florins; so that the revenue which the Empress derived from this very questionable source amounted to 187,000 florins a year. The profit of the lottery itself was of course much more considerable; and it was whispered that Cataldo had as a sleeping partner no less a personage than the Emperor Francis himself: who in fact had been the principal proprietor of the concern. According to Schlözer, the Vienna lottery, in the ten years from 1759 to 1769, received 21,000,000 florins; which were thus apportioned:—

1. To the court - - - - - -	3,460,000 florins.
2. For expenses and salaries - -	2,080,000
3. Paid for prizes - - - - -	7,000,000
4. Profit to the lessees, viz., Chevalier Cataldo and his Majesty the Emperor Francis -	8,540,000
	21,000,000 florins.

Titles and honours also—the latter in an indirect way at least—served to replenish the privy purse of the Empress. Every one, from the prime minister down to the lowest official, had to pay her a certain per-centage on his salary. The title of Excellency was sold at a very high figure. According to Chancellor Baron Fürst, as much as 60,000 florins were paid for it by Count Clary. The same authority states, "the promotions which the Empress, after her confinement, in 1754, granted as proofs of her Imperial favour, yielded to her 229,000 florins; the items in detail being:—

17 Field-marshals -	each at	2,000 florins	= 34,000 flor.
47 General - -	„	1,000 „	= 47,000
38 Lieutenant-generals	„	800 „	= 30,400
14 Privy councillors	„	4,000 „	= 56,000
77 Lords of the bedchamber	„	200 ducats	= 61,600
			229,000 flor.
			(22,900*l.*)

This sort of revenue may generally be set down at 40,000 florins every year."

One important branch of indirect revenue, the tobacco monopoly, deserves especial mention. The Portuguese Jew, Diego Aguilar, after having farmed it for twenty years, voluntarily gave it up, in 1748, to Joseph Pingitzer. "In Austria," Fürst writes, "the duty on tobacco is let to a farmer-general Mr Pingitzer, as an exclusive monopoly, which is called an apalto. He pays 460,000 florins a year for it. The estates of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, in order to be exempt from this indirect taxation, pay a fixed sum; so that the revenue from tobacco amounts on the whole to 680,000 florins. Hungary is exempt altogether; nor does it pay the impost upon liquors, meat, or salt." Pingitzer was succeeded, in 1764, by the Christian firm of Adam Dechau and Purkner; who in their turn made room for the Israelites Löwel Hönig, Baruch, and

Co. At last, from 1774 to 1783, the monopoly was farmed by a company, to which the above-mentioned Jew Hönig, and the bankers Grosser, Fries,—afterwards made a count,—and Arnstein belonged. They paid nearly 1,800,000 florins for the monopoly in all the Austrian countries except Hungary and Galicia; and each of the twelve shares of the company yielded at an average 75,000 florins a year, until Joseph II. did away with this lucrative monopoly in 1783.

The finest monument of the idyllic absolutionist financial rule of Maria Theresa and Count Choteck, was the creation of Trieste as a sea-port. As early as in 1752, urgent representations were made that the Styrian scythes, choppers, sickles, and hardware in general were in great demand; and that the Hungarian copper, quicksilver, corn, and oxen required only an outlet to establish a considerable traffic. The Netherlands Company offered 12,000 florins for the repair of the high road from Carlstadt to Trieste. The government readily entertained the proposals; and free exercise of religion being granted, numbers of foreign merchants settled at the new emporium.

Maria Theresa, according to the description which Hormayr gives from the statements of individuals who spoke from personal observation, was in her youth of dazzling beauty and elegance. She was taller than most women, but even more conspicuous by the perfect symmetry of her form than by her height. She was slightly built, of brilliant complexion and noble bearing. Her rich luxuriant hair was golden and wavy. The form of her face was a beautiful oval, lit up by mild but yet very animated eyes, of a light grey colour. Her nose aquiline, not however as strongly as those of the first Rodolph and Maximilian, who themselves made theirs the theme of many a joke; her mouth exceedingly lovely, without the hanging under-lip of her house. Maria Theresa, in fact, had more of her mother, the beautiful Brunswick Elizabeth, although she

differed very much from her in the general expression of her features. Count Podewils, in one of his despatches, mentions with particular praise the wonderful beauty of her hands and arms.

Maria Theresa's remarkable vivacity, and even impetuosity, abated nothing either from her dignity or from her winning affability. Two eye-witnesses of the Diet of Pressburg of 1741, and of the Frankfort coronation of her husband Francis I., in 1745, who were still alive in 1801, —the year when Hormayr came to Vienna,—were never tired, though at such a distance of time, of expatiating on her beauty and elegance. When at Pressburg, after her flight from Vienna, she received the homage of her faithful Hungarian lieges, the languor and delicacy incidental to her situation imparted to her an increased interest, not only as a queen but also as a woman; whilst the exertion and warmth of the day during the solemnity suffused her with a colour of surpassing brilliancy, so that, with her long golden locks falling over her shoulders, she looked like some fairy being; and when, brandishing the sword of St. Stephen toward the four points of the compass, she nimbly ascended the hill of coronation, and her spirited speech dispelled the remembrance of two hundred years of civil war, as day dispels the shades of night, the enthusiasm of the proud Magyars, whose allegiance had until then been so reluctant, broke out with the unfeigned fervour of unbounded admiration. The incident at Frankfort in 1745, so prettily described from family traditions by Göthe, was more homely yet scarcely less touching. When her husband returned from the coronation to the hall where the banquet of the electors and princes was to take place, Maria Theresa was the first to call out from the balcony of the Römer, "Long live the Emperor Francis!" The husband smilingly looked up, and pointed with great mirth to the quaint old costume in which he was arrayed; at which the Empress burst into a hearty laugh. It was

a scene of domestic affection and contentment so much the more striking in such exalted personages, and on such an occasion.

Maria Theresa was just as affectionate a mother as she was a wife. Every three weeks, couriers were regularly sent to Paris, to Naples, and to Parma, to her daughters Marie Antoinette, Caroline, and Amalia, with long letters full of motherly advice and anxious inquiries about their health, their doings, and their children. If one of these princesses was lying-in, a courier went every nine days.

Maria Theresa's voice was sharp but musical, her manner speaking quick and accompanied by frequent and lively gesticulation. All her movements were abrupt and indicative of an impetuous temper; the expression of which, however, was softened down by the high and dignified bearing which she never lost even in the moments of the greatest passion. Her anger was easily roused, but as easily propitiated; especially in cases where the fault had been committed against her alone. When, on the other hand, she thought herself to have exceeded the limits of what was right, she tried to make amends for it by an overflow of kindness: for she was just and conscientious, even to scrupulousness. You needed only to convince her of a thing being wrong, and she at once gave it up, even at the risk of most serious loss; nay, she was loth to hear of it again.

Like all great minds, she was an enthusiast in love and in friendship; whomsoever she loved, had her whole heart. She never trusted people by halves. The sense of gratitude she possessed in an uncommon degree; she never forgot the least service nor the least proof of attachment to her. The name of the Hungarians, who had saved her at the beginning of her reign, was one of the last words upon her lips before her death. She never forgot that the Turks did not at that time take advantage of her distress; and that even the Grand Vizier and the Mufti had exhorted the most Christian, and the most Catholic king to

keep truth and faith with her. There was not in her a vestige of the humour and the jovial flights of her ancestor Rodolph; but she was always cheerful, and in her youth fond of pleasure, festivities, and magnificence. The most perilous vicissitudes of fate disturbed her equanimity but little; impatient despondency was unknown to her thorough princely heart. She had the nicest feeling of womanly delicacy; and the idea was ever present to her mind that it was her duty, as the first of her sex and the head of the Empire, to be the guardian of female dignity and virtue.

Maria Theresa used to rise in summer at five, and in winter at six o'clock. After a short prayer, she dressed completely; went to a neighbouring chapel to hear mass; then took a hasty breakfast, which lasted only a few minutes; after which she worked without intermission until nine. She read the petitions and reports which had come in the evening before; or sometimes she had them read to her by her women of the bed-chamber, or by some of the young ladies who were brought up at her court, and whom the Empress afterwards settled in the world. She then heard a second mass, saw her children, and worked again until one, which was her dinner hour. She generally sat down alone; and this meal likewise, of which she partook very moderately, lasted only a short time. Immediately after, she returned to business. Being of a very warm nature, she sat whilst working, in the very midst of winter, with the windows and even doors open; and often allowed the fire to go out altogether. Joseph always came to her apartments wrapped up in furs At Schönbrunn, she inhabited the eight rooms of the ground-floor near the orangery. They were mostly painted in what was called the Indian fashion, with date trees, birds, festoons of flowers and fruit; some were white and gold, and the furniture ash-grey and gold; her sleeping room was likewise painted ash-grey, and her bed hung with damask of

the same colour. She was fond of busying herself in the open air in her favourite bower at the Glorietta, built by Kaunitz at Schönbrunn. A glass door, from her apartments, led through a covered avenue to that secluded arbour, whither she used to go, carrying a tray full of papers, letters, and memorials slung by straps round her neck. At the entrance of the bower, a sentinel was placed to keep off all intruders.

She worked with great application, frequently stopped in the midst of reading the papers, looking, after the manner of Charles V., either up to the sky or fixedly before her; and, after having maturely weighed the matter in hand, she briefly and distinctly wrote down her orders. Her spelling was generally very incorrect, and her mode of speech nearly always in the infinitive. She was fond of laying down maxims. In most cases, she only directed what was to be done; but not how it was to be done. In the latter respect, she left people to use their own discretion.

Towards evening, she ceased working. About six o'clock, she attended vespers; after which followed her regular evening card party, for which invitations were issued to her ladies. Besides the persons thus favoured, she never saw any one except on the appointed "appartement" days. The game (faro) lasted until eight o'clock; after this, the Empress took a slight supper, generally consisting only of some broth, and then betook herself to rest. In summer, she might now and then after supper still go out for a walk; but as a rule she liked to go to bed early, sometimes between eight and nine, in order to be early at work again. Even at the court balls and ridottos, she did not like to remain as a spectator after eleven o'clock. She had become exceedingly short-sighted, and had to make use of a glass, to be able to make out persons only a few paces off.

Like her mother, the beautiful Empress Elizabeth*,

* An anonymous tourist, in the first volume of Bernouilli's Collection of Travels, states that Elizabeth, during the last ten or twelve years of her life,

Maria Theresa became in her old age so weak in her legs and ankles, that she could no longer walk any distance, and she generally wore gaiters for support. As she could only with great difficulty go up and down stairs, her bedroom was so contrived that part of the floor could be opened; so that she might hear the mass, which was read below in a chapel fitted up in the second story, whilst her apartments were in the third.

Sir Nathaniel Wraxall dwells very strongly on two foibles of the Empress, a love of scandal, and her bigotry. The latter feature of her character made her particularly averse to the English, whom, according to that tourist, she looked upon as the most hardened and irreclaimable of all heretics. Not only did she forbid her youngest son, the Archduke Maximilian, during his tour through France and the Netherlands, to cross the channel; but she also extorted from the Emperor Joseph, when, in 1777, he went to Paris, a promise on no account to extend his journey to England: "for," she said to him, "the English are all of them deists, infidels, and free-thinkers. I tremble at the thought that the intercourse with such a nation might taint your mind, and shake your faith in every thing that is sacred to a Catholic."

Another incident is recorded by Sir Nathaniel, in which her religious zeal amounted to cruelty towards her own flesh and blood; and even led to the death of one of her daughters, the beautiful and universally-beloved Archduchess Josepha. An elder sister of hers, Johanna, who

—she died in 1750,—suffered from ulcerated legs so severely, that mortification had already made its appearance when the celebrated Van Swieten came to Vienna. He treated her with bark outwardly and inwardly with such effect, that the Empress was restored to tolerable health. She, however, lost the use of her legs, and was never seen in public, except sitting in her chair. At last, she conceived such an antipathy to bark as to discontinue its use altogether. Her health suffering in consequence, she wanted to employ the remedy again; but it was too late. She died at the age of fifty-nine.

was betrothed to Ferdinand IV., King of the two Sicilies, having died in 1762; the Lady Josepha was selected in her stead. Her departure was to take place on the 15th of October, 1767, and all the preparations were made for it; when the Empress forced her daughter, notwithstanding all her tears and entreaties, to go to the family vault at the church of the Capuchins, and there to perform in solitude a last devotion at the grave of her ancestors. Four months before, the second wife of the Emperor Joseph, who had died of smallpox, had been buried there. Her malady had been so malignant that it was found impossible to embalm her body. The Arch-duchess Josepha, immediately after her return, felt ill; and soon the smallpox declared itself, of which the princess died on the very day appointed for her departure for Italy.

5. FRANCIS I. THE CONSORT OF MARIA THERESA. — HIS DEATH AT SALZBURG. — WIDOWHOOD AND DEATH OF THE EMPRESS.

MARIA THERESA married, in 1736, Francis of Lorraine, Grand-duke of Tuscany. He was grandson of that heroic Duke Charles who, in 1683, together with Sobiesky, came to the relief of Vienna; and son of Duke Leopold, upon whom Charles VI., in 1722, had conferred the duchy of Teschen. His mother was a daughter of the Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV., and the husband of the duchess whose letters we have so often quoted. Francis had come in 1721, at the age of thirteen, to Vienna, where he was brought up near Maria Theresa; who was, at that time, only four years of age. After his father's death in 1729, he went to take possession of the duchy of Lorraine. It was on this occasion that, as one of the seven "foreign" princes, he took on his knees the oath of allegiance to the King of France for the duchy of Bar. Sixteen years after, he was elected German Emperor; Lorraine having

in the meanwhile (1737) been ceded to France in exchange for the reversion of Tuscany, which became vacant after the extinction of the house of Medici.

The Lorraine family introduced into the court of Vienna greater ease and refinement of manners; and the French language, French fashions, and French costume were now publicly admitted and adopted at the Hofburg. As Francis always spoke French, this language became that of the court; Francis, the Emperor of Germany, never in his life learned to speak German even tolerably. A beginning was made to reform the old Spanish stiffness and *grandezza*, and the yet older German awkwardness. This, however, made but slow progress, and the etiquette, at least in some points, still remained very strict; so much so, that, for instance, the lady reader to the Empress had to perform the duty of her office on her knees. As the etiquette relaxed, the old exclusive and stolid haughtiness of the nobles likewise gradually gave way.

Francis, in his earlier years, was as much distinguished by his manly beauty, as Maria Theresa was by her radiant loveliness. He was passionately fond of pleasure and magnificence, but simple in his bearing, and also in his dress; even on the greatest state occasions, he used to wear quite a plain suit, but relieved by the finest jewelry. After the manner of the French, he was temperate at table, drinking scarcely anything but water; at his meals, two bottles, one containing cold and one warm water, were placed before him, from which he mixed his wine according to his own taste. Although being anything but a bigot, he scrupulously kept the religious observances prescribed for certain days by the etiquette of the court or the traditions of the church. Baron Fürst saw him, on Good Friday, walking in procession to Herrnals, and performing his genuflexions at every station on the road to the Calvary.

Francis was always cheerful and active, of manly habits,

most graceful on horseback, and one of the keenest sportsmen of his age. The chase was his favourite amusement, as he was a very good shot, he preferred the smaller game; hares, pheasants, and partridges. In 1753, he ranged the whole of Bohemia and Moravia, and the newspapers recorded wondrous numbers of game killed by the Emperor's own hand. Besides the chase, he enjoyed a game at tennis or at billiards, and especially faro and dice, at high stakes; two of his friends, the Piedmontese brothers Guasco, one a general, the other a colonel, keeping the bank against him. In 1754, the Emperor lost to them upwards of 10,000 ducats. Among his other friends, are to be mentioned Prince Trautson (the last of his race); the master of the horse, Prince Auersperg; the brother-in-law of the Emperor's mistress, Count St. Julien; Count Losy; General Count Spada; and Commander Count Joseph Kinsky. Among his friends from Lorraine, the foremost was Nicolas Francis Joseph Grünne, the brother of the great-grandfather of Count Charles Grünne, who holds such a prominent place in the confidence of the present Emperor.

Francis was a man of most agreeable manner, by which he succeeded in fascinating every one, and most of all his Imperial spouse. His education had been so sadly neglected that he scarcely knew how to read and write: but he was endowed with a good deal of sound unpretending common sense; and during his frequent travels in Germany, France, Italy, and England he acquired a good knowledge of men and manners. He told a story to perfection, with great humour and vivacity. He loved the fine arts, and bestowed a generous patronage on painters, sculptors, and musicians. He collected pictures, coins, and antiquities. The French comedy and Italian opera enjoyed his especial patronage. In public calamities, such as fires, or inundations, several instances of which occurred in his time at Vienna; he distinguished himself as well by his intrepidity in lending a hand, as by his liberal benevolence to the suf-

ferers. Having, since the Turkish war in 1737 and 1738, conceived a great affection for the Hungarians, he exerted himself to the utmost in overcoming the old prejudices which still prevailed at the Austrian court against that nation. Francis had been appointed co-regent of his wife; but he never meddled with any affairs of government, knowing too well that Maria Theresa was just as jealous of her power as she was in love.*

At the great receptions, the Emperor, in order not to give umbrage to his wife, used to say to the ladies, "I'll remain with you until the court is gone. By the court, I mean the Empress and my children; I am here only a private person." Podewils, however, states that Francis, notwithstanding his want of ambition, had not the less keenly felt the humiliating position in which he was placed at Vienna; and that his easy and cheerful temper had been a little soured by his residence there. "As far as ever he can do so," Podewils says, "he lives with his countrymen the Lorrainers; he seems born to be an agreeable rather than a useful member of society."

Joseph II. used to call his father "an idler surrounded by flatterers." But Francis was not so entirely idle; on the contrary, he did many very useful things for the state,

* Count Podewils writes (in his despatch of the 18th of January, 1747): "Il m'a été assuré qu'un jour dans une conférence, l'Impératrice ayant soutenu avec beaucoup de chaleur une opinion contra l'avis de ses ministres, et l'Empereur en ayant dit son sentiment, l'Impératrice lui imposa silence d'une manière fort dure en lui témoignant qu'il ne devoit pas se mêler d'affaires auxquelles il n'entendoit rien. L'Empereur bouda là-dessus pendant quelques jours, et s'en plaignit à un de ses favoris, un colonel Lorrain nommé Rossières. Celui-ci lui répondit: 'Sire, permettez-moi de vous dire que vous vous y prenez mal avec Madame; si j'étois à votre place, je l'obligerois bien d'en user mieux avec moi et je la rendrois souple comme un gant.' 'Comment donc?' demanda l'Empereur; 'je ferois lit à part,' repliqua-t-il; 'croyez-moi, que c'est par cet endroit qu'elle vous aime et que vous pourrez tout obtenir d'elle.' . .

"Le discours fut rapporté à l'Impératrice qui persécuta cet officier au point qu'il vient de prendre le parti de quitter le service, quoique l'Empereur ait pu faire pour le retenir."

especially for the administration of finance, which has ever been the sorest point in the Austrian affairs. He exposed the gross frauds which were shamelessly practised in the army, in the Imperial household, and elsewhere. This made him exceedingly obnoxious to the harpies who pilfered the public money to an incredible extent, and he soon earned the character of a most niggardly miser. It is true that in his own way, "as a private person," he knew how to turn a penny, as well in his own state as in that of his wife. He engaged in stock-jobbing, and made great profit when there was the issue of the Austrian exchequer bills during the Seven Years' War. The finance of his duchy of Tuscany was most excellently managed for him by Richecour. Francis, however, drew the revenue entirely out of the country; which was a very serious loss to its resources, as the sums paid to him as grand-duke amounted, according to the diary of Behrenhorst*, in twenty-seven years, altogether to about 30,000,000 florins. From this and from the inheritance of his aunt, the Countess Palatine, he formed a hoard, which was treasured and well guarded at the Wallerstrasse, opposite the palace of Prince Esterhazy. The disposable money he placed most advantageously in the banks of Venice, Genoa, and Amsterdam; or employed it in a number of manufacturing or commercial speculations, in which he received most effectual aid from Choteek. He also bought estates in Austria and in Hungary, which, by prudent management and judicious improvements, he soon rendered very productive. The Emperor even lent on mortgages, and, in fact, to all intents and purposes carried on business as a banker. Almost everywhere in Germany, as well as in Italy, he established large banking houses, which lent him their names for circulating his notes. He was, moreover, a shareholder in foreign commercial undertakings in Belgium as well as in England. In addition to

* A natural son of "the old Dessauer."

all this, he undertook public contracts — as for instance for furnishing the clothing, arms, horses, and accoutrements for the whole of the Imperial army; nay, he repeatedly undertook, during the Seven Years' War, the contract for provisioning the army of the arch-enemy of the Empress, the King of Prussia; which, indeed, rather startled Maria Theresa when she heard of it. In other respects, Francis showed extreme deference to the rather sensitive Habsburg pride of his wife. He never was in her way in the exercise of her duties as "the mother of her country." Now and then only, he ventured to grumble slightly at the money thrown away on the Tartuffes; on such an occasion, Maria Theresa once silenced him by drily replying, "The ducats are all Kremnitzers;" a significant hint by which he was forcibly to be reminded that, in his position as German Emperor and Grand-duke of Tuscany, he had no business whatever with the gold mines of Hungary, nor the ducats coined therefrom.

Love of money and gain led Francis to the fanciful pursuits of alchemy, into which he plunged with the greatest enthusiasm. He connected himself with all the most famous adepts of his time. The well-known Count St. Germains repeatedly made his appearance at Vienna; but the most zealous partner of the Emperor in alchemical operations was the rich Hungarian Count Zobor, who completely impoverished himself by the expensive "Great Art." Francis, among others, made the trial of melting down, by means of vast burning lenses, several small diamonds into one large one; and for this purpose entered the masonic order, in the higher degrees of which he hoped to gain information concerning the secrets of the art. At last, he succeeded in finding a real adept, Sehfeld, whom Professor Schmieder, in his History of Alchemy, mentions as the last of the five who were said to have actually possessed the tincture for changing any metal into gold. Francis, to secure this man of wonders, sent him to one of his castles in Hungary; placing with him, for company

and surveillance, two officers, Lorrainers, whom he thought he might trust. But they both ran away together with Sehfeld. One of them was afterwards seen in Malta and the other in Hamburg; and Sehfeld seems to have had the means of indemnifying them for the loss of the Emperor's favour.

The warm conjugal affection which Maria Theresa showed to her husband, was not sufficient to keep him from indulging in gallant adventures. Even as early as 1747, Podewils mentions in his despatch, "He is fond of women, and formerly showed a particular attachment for the Countess Colloredo, the wife of the vice-chancellor; for Countess Palffy, maid of honour to the Empress, who afterwards married the Sardinian envoy Count Canales; and for several others. He even secretly arranged suppers and other small gay parties with them; but the jealousy of the Empress compelled him to restrain himself. As soon as she remarks that he is particularly attentive to any lady, she pouts with him, and lets him feel her displeasure in a thousand ways. Being aware of his propensity for gallantry, she has him watched everywhere. People, however, will have it that, notwithstanding all these jealous precautions, he, under the pretext of going out shooting, still finds means to arrange *parties fines*."

The houses at which the Emperor visited in Vienna, were those of the Princess Dietrichstein, and of the Countesses Daun, Losy, and Tarouca. At a later period, Francis had for his declared favourite the Princess Auersperg-Neipperg.

Maria Wilhelmina von Neipperg was the daughter of the Marshal Count Neipperg, of unfortunate celebrity, into whose face the Pasha of Bosnia spat; who afterwards concluded the disgraceful Peace of Belgrade; and who lost the battle of Mollwitz. She was born on the 30th of April, 1738; and married in 1755, when she had just completed her seventeenth year, Prince John Adam Joseph Auer-

sperg, who was a widower and double her age. She survived her Imperial lover by more than ten years. She never had any children. She died in October, 1775. Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, in his detailed account of her character, describes her as being remarkably beautiful and fascinating, but as the most inveterate gambler.

The Emperor Francis went, in August, 1765, to Innsbruck, to the marriage of his second son Leopold (afterwards Leopold II.) with the Spanish Infanta Maria Louisa. The wedding being over, the court was preparing for its return. In the meanwhile, Francis almost every day visited the court chapel, which contains the mausoleum of Maximilian I. and the bronze statues of kings and heroes. There he would joke with the Franciscan friars who guarded the tombs. At one time, he joined with his two sons Joseph and Leopold in singing vespers — the Three Emperors' Vespers; at another time, as if awaking from a dream, he cried out, "Here I too shall find my resting-place." He had for some time been suffering from asthma, and would not take sufficient exercise; and, although of an uncommonly full habit of body, he strenuously objected to being bled. It having rained almost constantly during his stay in the Tyrol, the damp heavy atmosphere seemed as it were to press on his brain. He was therefore heard to say: "*Ah, si je pouvois seulement sortir de ces montagnes du Tyrol!*" But he never left those mountains again; death surprised him, as, on the 18th of August (a Sunday), in returning from the opera, he was crossing the passages of the palace to his apartments; from which he intended to repair to a supper given by his son Joseph. Seized with apoplexy, he fell senseless into the arms of a sentinel who was placed near a small flight of back-stairs. His companion, Baron Reischach, then had him at once carried to a neighbouring room, where he was laid on the truckle bed of a lacquey. A vein was opened; but it was of no avail, he never rallied. His tongue protruded from his

mouth; and thus he died in the arms of Joseph II., who had been hastily summoned to the spot.

Maria Theresa was inconsolable. For several days she refused to see any one, and then hastened with the corpse to Vienna. She had loved with passionate fondness her Francis, "her great and dearest Emperor;" and had ever been a pattern of conjugal affection, although her "never-enough-to-be-praised handsome and amiable Francis" repaid her love by innumerable instances of unfaithfulness, which again and again she magnanimously allowed to pass unnoticed.

The fair Auersperg had even been with the court on this last journey. Once more, before the departure of the court from Innsbruck, and that for the first time after the death of Francis, Maria Theresa showed herself at a levée. The state barges which were to convey the Imperial corpse to Vienna, to be buried in the family vault in the church of the Capuchins, were lying ready on the Inn, at Hall. When Maria Theresa stepped forth from her closet, the ladies and gentlemen of her court were ranged on the right side; and on the other, quite alone and shunned by every one, stood the Princess Auersperg, covered by a long black veil, and weeping bitterly. The Empress — not without a transient sarcastic sneer at the fawning crowd, so many of whom had formerly pandered to the passions of the Emperor — straightway went up to the fair sinner; took her hand; and said, so as to be heard by everybody, "We have indeed suffered a great loss, *my dear* (meine liebe)." After this, she proceeded to address the other ladies and gentlemen each in their turn; and they, suddenly changing their line of conduct, were now anxious to show their attention to the lady whom just before they had so ostentatiously avoided. The Empress, moreover, without demur, ordered a bond of upwards of 200,000 florins to be duly paid, which Francis had given to the princess on the very day before his death, and which the ministers had wished to declare

null and void. Maria Theresa treated her rival with the same generous forbearance to the last day of her life; always showing her the greatest civility without so much as the least shade of bitterness or slight.

"I have lost in him the most affectionate friend, the most dearly beloved companion during a union of thirty years, and the only joy of my life. During the harassing times of the first twenty years of my reign, he soothed my cares and my anxieties by sharing them:"—thus Maria Theresa wrote to the Countesses Harrach and Thurn. With her own hands, she made the shroud for the dear departed one, never ceasing to speak to the ladies and chamber-women, who were assisting her in her melancholy task, of the amiability and manly beauty of Francis; at the same time, however, enjoining them—no doubt in consideration of his many infidelities, of which she was well aware—never to repeat what she told them. On the spot on which Francis had drawn his last breath, an altar was erected, and the room was changed into a chapel. In the newly established convent for noble ladies, unceasing prayers were to be offered for the repose of his soul.

During the whole fifteen years from the death of Francis to her own, Maria Theresa not only wore the deepest mourning, but also retained it in her carriages, the hangings of the rooms, &c. Her hair she had cut short. She would never again inhabit the apartments of the first story at the Hofburg, where she had lived with Francis; but removed to the third, where all the rooms were hung with black velvet. During the whole month of August, on the eighteenth of which month Francis died, and likewise on the eighteenth of every other month, in all forty-two days in the year, she shut herself up from the world to mourn in solitude. In the latter part of her life, she passed several hours every day in the chapel of the royal tomb, before a crucifix and the portrait of her husband as he lay in his coffin, together with her own as she might

be expected to look in hers. On repeated occasions, she caused herself to be lowered in a chair slung on ropes into the vault at the church of the Capuchins, where Francis was buried. On the last of these mournful visits, the rope of the chair broke as she was being drawn up again. Looking upon this accident as a call from her husband to follow him, she called out: "He wants to keep me with him, I shall come soon." A few days after, she was laid on that sick bed from which she was to rise no more — dropsy had set in. During this last illness, she several times said to those about her, "You are all so timid; I am not afraid of death, I only pray to God to give me strength to the end." At another time, she asked the physician who was sitting up with her, "Is this already the last agony of death?" and on receiving the answer, "No, not yet," she said with a sigh, "Oh, then the last must be terribly severe." Joseph II. did not leave her for a moment during the last few days. She adjured him to be a father to his brothers and sisters. Her last thanks were addressed to Kaunitz and the Hungarians. Caroline Pichler states that the dying Empress had agreed with her physician Störk, that when her last moment was approaching, he should apprise her of it by asking her if she would like any lemonade. As he gave the signal, Maria Theresa, starting up in the fever heat and in the feeling of oppression, called out, "Open the windows;" but they had been open long before. "Where does your Majesty want to go?" asked Joseph, gently taking her arm to support her. "To thee! I am coming!" These were her last words, and she fell back a corpse in the arms of her son. It was a quarter to nine in the evening, on the 29th of November, 1780. She had not yet completed her sixty-fourth year.

"Maria Theresa n'est plus, voilà un nouvel ordre des choses, qui commence," then wrote Frederic the Great to his cabinet ministers. The Empress had at last become so unwieldy, that she could not move about by herself; but

was obliged to be raised or lowered by a sort of machinery to and from her apartments in the Hofburg and in the pavilion called the Glorietta, in the park of Schönbrunn. The contrivance at the latter place consisted of a large boxed sofa, the seat of which was covered with green morocco, and the walls with pier-glasses. On this couch, the Empress was raised to the large balcony of the Glorietta, from whence there is a fine view over the garden and the palace of Schönbrunn, with Vienna in the distance. She often allowed Caroline Pichler, at that time a little child, to make the ascent with her, and every time gave her rich presents besides.

At that period of Maria Theresa's life, her old laundress, who had to perform for her helpless mistress all those little offices which the latter could no longer perform for herself, became a person of very great consequence at court. Indeed no princess has had more attention shown to her by ministers, councillors of state, prelates, and a crowd of ambitious or greedy petitioners, than that humble menial; who was paid heavy sums for sounding the Empress's intentions, or for making suggestions to her.

Maria Theresa's death happened at a time when a new tax had just been laid upon liquors, which caused great exasperation among the people. At her funeral, therefore, great abuse was heard from the assembled mob. Some ruffians even flung stones at the coffin, which had to be protected by grenadiers. Maria Theresa quitted the throne as she had ascended it; now, as then, she was far from being enthusiastically beloved by the people, not even by those of the capital.

On the other hand, she was much beloved by those whom their position and duties kept near her person. Her ministers and other faithful servants she treated altogether like personal friends. Breaking through all the rules of the old, stiff Spanish etiquette, she would even visit them in person when they were ill; a thing which no

Austrian sovereign had ever done before her. The notes which she wrote with her own hand are full of good sense and kindness, expressed sometimes in very homely, but never undignified language. Hormayr has communicated several of them.

A note of the year 1761, addressed to Daun, and written on the anniversary of the victory of Collin, which also became that of the foundation of the Order of Maria Theresa, runs thus:—

"18th* June, on the birthday of the monarchy.

"My dear Count Daun,

"I cannot possibly allow this great day to pass without offering to you my, believe me, most heartfelt thanks and congratulations. The monarchy owes to you its preservation, and I owe to you my existence, my fine and beloved army, and the life of my dear and only brother-in-law. This certainly, as long as I live, will never vanish from my heart, from my memory; on the contrary, it seems to me that every year I feel it more freshly and deeply, and that I shall never be able to acknowledge it sufficiently in you and those belonging to you. This is also the day on which my name has been perpetuated for the military. . . . Your work likewise — and it was only fair that you (alas! at the cost of your blood) should become my first chevalier (Knight of the Order of Maria Theresa). May God preserve you many years for the benefit of the state, of the army, and of myself, whose best and truest friend you are! I shall remain as long as I live, very truly

"Your most gracious mistress (Frau),

"Maria Theresa."

Maria Theresa showed herself a gracious mistress to her generals, not only when they were conquerors, but also

* Daun won the battle of Collin on the 18th of June, 1757.

when they were conquered. Thus she wrote to Loudon after his defeat on the 15th August, 1760, near Liegnitz:—

"Although the 15th August has been a disastrous day to me, yet I do full justice to your strict adherence to received orders, to your courage and circumspection; and you may believe me, on my word, that I shall ever remember it of you in kindness. Of these sentiments you are also to apprise the troops under your command."

A remark very characteristic of her kind-heartedness was written by her own hand, in giving her assent to a plan presented to her for immediate dispatch by the president of the Board of War, Count Lascy, on the 31st of December, 1770, concerning the pensions for military officers and their widows and orphans. Her answer was, "*Placet;* and this plan has given me particular pleasure, that at last better care is taken of old meritorious officers and their widows and orphans. Of all the many important and useful measures for which I have to thank you and the councillors under you, there is none which has gladdened my heart so much as this, because of its perfect fairness, thoughtfulness, and humanity."

The high-minded and noble-hearted Imperial lady respected her generals, not for their military qualities alone; but she also knew how to appreciate any acts of generosity and moderation in war which might come to her knowledge. She wrote to General Andrew Haddik*, after his having taken Berlin, in October, 1757:—

"It is very handsome of you not to have taken anything for yourself; and also 25,000 dollars for the troops is very moderate: I therefore grant to you a gift of 3,000 ducats."

* Haddik on that occasion had sent to the Empress two dozen pairs of magnificent ladies' gloves, stamped with the arms of the city of Berlin; but when the Empress opened the parcel, she was not a little surprised to find that the sly Berliners had packed none but gloves for the left hand. Haddik rose to the rank of field-marshal, became a privy councillor, and president of the Aulic Council of War, and, in 1777, a count of the Empire.

The men who stood highest in Maria Theresa's favour, were—besides Kaunitz, Daun, Haugwitz, and Choteck—the brothers Louis and Charles Batthiany, the former Palatine of Hungary, and the latter Ajo (governor) of the *Coronæ Princeps* (Joseph II. as Crown Prince of Hungary); and the Generals John Palffy, Wenceslaus Liechtenstein, Otto Traun, and Louis Andrew Khevenhüller. Of the three last, the Empress used to call Khevenhüller her "champion," Traun her "shield," and Liechtenstein her "friend."

Prince Wenceslaus Liechtenstein was a pupil of Prince Eugene's, whose aide-de-camp and ambassador in Berlin and Paris he had been. He was heir to the united immense fortune of the house of Liechtenstein, two branches of which had become extinct in his lifetime. This wealth aided him in bringing the Austrian artillery to a very high state of perfection, which Frederic the Great himself was obliged to acknowledge.

Count Otto Traun was a pupil of Guido Starhemberg. When this celebrated commander took him, in 1709, as his adjutant-general to Spain, Lord Stanhope, casting a supercilious glance on Traun, who was at that time full thirty-two years old, asked Starhemberg, "Who is that young man you have with you?" Starhemberg, in his usual phlegmatic way, answered with half a smile, "It would have been good for you if you had had this young man at the head of your troops at Almanza; I tell you this young man will soon command armies."

Starhemberg had judged correctly; Frederic the Great himself at a later period confessed, "that he had learned the art of war from Traun, who was a master of manœuvring, who, however, has never either lost or won a battle." According to a despatch of Count Podewils, Traun was one of the numerous Austrian converts; the Prussian diplomatist speaks of him as a very disinterested and modest man.

Count Louis Andrew Khevenhüller, grandson of the celebrated author of the *Annales Ferdinandei*, and, by the mother's side, of the great general Montecuculi, had likewise been a pupil and aide-de-camp of Prince Eugene. He was commandant of Vienna, and owed his title as "champion" of the Empress to his merits as a courtier rather than as a general.

Besides these eminent men, there are to be mentioned, as enjoying the confidence of the Empress, Baron Bartenstein, who, it is true, was a sort of legacy from her father; her body physician, Van Swieten; and the cabinet secretary Koch, whom we have introduced before.

Among the ladies, the most influential about the Empress was Maria Charlotte Dowager Countess Fuchs, the mother-in-law of Field-marshal Daun. She died before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, and the Empress honoured her so highly even after her death, as to have her buried in the Imperial family vault.

Another lady of less rank stood almost as high in the favour and confidence of the Empress — Madame* Greiner, chamber-woman and reader to Maria Theresa. She was mother of the well-known novelist Caroline Pichler. At her marriage, in 1767, she succeeded in getting a relation of hers, Madame Josepha von Guttenberg appointed in her stead. This lady maintained her influence with the Empress to her death; after which she retired to a convent. Both Madame Greiner and her successor had the most assiduous court paid to them by high and low, as their intercession was known to be very effective. Even lower menials knew how to turn their position about the Empress to very good account. This went so far that the list of influential persons comprised even a man of the name of Stockel, who held the office of stove-heater of the private apartments of the Empress, but who also acted as the dispenser of her alms.

* Her name before marriage was Caroline von Hieronymus.

6. THE FAMILY OF THE EMPRESS.

MARIA THERESA had borne to her husband sixteen* children, five sons and eleven daughters. Of the sons two became her successors, Joseph II. and Leopold II.

The third prince, Charles, the favourite of his parents, died before he had completed his eighteenth year, in 1761.

The fourth, Ferdinand, acquired in 1771, by his marriage with Maria Beatrice, the rich heiress of the house of Este, the duchy of Modena.

The fifth son, the tolerant, jovial, and very fat Maximilian, became Elector of Cologne.

Maria Theresa was an exceedingly affectionate and conscientious mother. She devoted all her leisure time to her children. Baron Fürst writes in 1754: "Whenever she (the Empress) is tired of working, and wishes for relaxation, she sees her children. At Vienna, she does so three or four times every day without exception. At Schönbrunn and Laxenburg, there is not room enough for the whole family; the youngest children, therefore, remain in Vienna, and the Empress sees them only once a week. She is as strict as she is affectionate. The tutors and teachers have to report on the conduct of their pupils, and there are rewards and punishments just as in any private family."

The great Empress, who was one of the most determined match makers of her Empire, of course showed herself particularly anxious with regard to the marriages of her own children. As in the marriages of private individuals, which she brought about, the religious point was the paramount consideration; thus the matrimonial alliances of her

* This had not happened in the House of Austria since the days of Maximilian II. and his Spanish consort Maria. Leopold I. also was the father of sixteen children, but by three wives.

sons and daughters were made subservient to political interest.

Of the daughters, three were chosen to confirm the new alliance of the House of Austria with the Bourbons. Maria Antoinette, before having completed her fifteenth year, was, in 1770, married to Louis XVI. She died under the guillotine, on the 16th of October, 1793. In 1769, Amalia, at the age of twenty-three, was married to the Duke of Parma; and in 1768, Caroline, at the age of sixteen, to King Ferdinand IV. of Naples.

King Ferdinand IV. had been engaged before to two of the arch-duchesses, Johanna and Josepha, both of whom died before the marriage was concluded. Ferdinand had from his childhood intentionally been kept by his father, Charles III. of Spain, from every serious occupation. Charles hoped in this way to preserve him from the state of successive melancholy, insanity, and idiotcy to which his own grandfather, father, and eldest son had become victims. Thus the prince grew up in the grossest ignorance. The Italian which he spoke was neither more nor less than the jargon of the Lazaroni. In a foreign tongue, he could get on only with great difficulty. He very seldom read a French book; and the letters which he wrote to his father to Spain were composed in that coarse Lazaroni slang, and seldom contained anything besides some piece of sporting intelligence. Ferdinand's only occupations indeed were field-sports and angling, and other bodily exercises. In bad weather, the courtiers had the greatest difficulty to amuse the young king. At the death of the Arch-duchess Josepha, his only concern was that, for a day at least, he could not for shame indulge in his usual outdoor sports. None of the indoor amusements would satisfy him. Neither billiards nor leap-frog afforded any solace, until at last one of his courtiers conceived the luminous idea of celebrating the obsequies of the deceased arch-duchess. A young feminine-looking gentleman was dressed

as the princess in her funeral robes, laid on an open bier, and his face and hands spotted with drops of chocolate in imitation of the smallpox. Thus the procession made the round through the state apartments of the palace of Portici, with the king as chief mourner. The whole of this extraordinary scene was witnessed by Ferdinand's faithful sporting companion, Sir William Hamilton; who in his official capacity, as English minister, had come to court to offer his condolence.

The place of Josepha was supplied by Caroline, who, according to Wraxall, was neither handsome in face nor form, although her somewhat too ample dimensions were not altogether destitute of a certain comeliness and even elegance. On her arrival at Naples, she was received by the Lazaroni king neither with ardent affection nor with indifference. The marriage took place on the 13th of May, 1768. Early next morning, the heat being considerable, Ferdinand rose early, and went out shooting, leaving his young bride alone. When his courtiers asked him how he liked her, he answered: "*Dorme come un' ammazzata, e suda come un porco!*" This sort of coarse sporting slang was quite the order of the day. When Ferdinand, after a plentiful meal, had occasion to go out; he quite openly mentioned the circumstance to the courtiers about him, choosing those on whom he deigned to confer the honour of attending him. He used to say, with his hand on his stomach: "*Sono ben pranzato, adesso bisogna una buona panciata.*" The gentlemen favoured with this very extraordinary mark of preference would then remain standing round him, respectfully keeping him in conversation. The year after this marriage, in April, 1769, the Emperor Joseph II. saw his new brother-in-law at Naples, concerning whom, during his visit to Versailles in 1777, he communicated to Maria Antoinette some very ludicrous and piquant anecdotes. Madame Campan, reader to the daughters of Louis XV., mentions that the sarcastic Em-

peror had given a capital description of "*la manière d'être et parler de ce souverain*" (Ferdinand); and that he had told, among others, "*avec quelle bonhommie il allait solliciter la première camériste pour obtenir de rentrer dans le lit nuptiel, quand, par mécontentement, la reine l'en avait banni; le tems qu'on lui faisait désirer cette réconciliation, était calculé entre la reine et sa camériste, et toujours mesuré à la nature du délit.*"

The Neapolitan Caroline became, in 1790, the mother-in-law of Francis II. The part which she played during the French revolutionary war is well known. She died in Vienna, shortly before the meeting of the Congress in 1814.

The favourite daughter of Maria Theresa was Christina, who, in 1766, at the age of twenty-two, married Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, the son of the second king of Poland of the house of Saxony, and of a cousin of Maria Theresa's. Duke Albert and the Archduchess Christina, whose marriage was one of affection, lived for a considerable time as governors of Hungary at Pressburg. From 1781 to 1793, they resided as governors of the Netherlands at Brussels. At last, they lived in Vienna, where Christina died in 1798. Swinburne, who saw her in 1780, describes her as very handsome, and having the most beautiful hand that could be seen.

The other seven daughters of Maria Theresa died, some of them in their youth and some of them unmarried: two of them as lady abbesses of Prague and of Innsbruck. One of these, the Archduchess Marian, was famous for her taste for mineralogy, in which she was instructed by the celebrated Born. She died in 1789.

The other lady abbess retained her liveliness and popularity to an advanced age, and was known for her rough-and-ready speeches. She once suffered from an ulcer in the cheek, which completely eat through, and which obliged her to keep her bed for several weeks.

When Sir Robert Keith, the English ambassador, paid her a visit of condolence, she burst out into a laugh, and told him that he was wrong in considering her case as one which called for sympathy. "*Croyez moi,*" she said, "*pour une archduchesse de quarante ans, qui n'est point mariée, un trou à la joue est un amusement ;*" for, she added, "no event which breaks the monotony and *ennui* of my life can be looked upon as a misfortune." She told him that it was a disgrace to Maria Theresa's rule to keep her mature daughters under constraint like children, and to prohibit them from the pleasure of mingling with society. The Archduchess Elizabeth died in 1808, at Linz.

CHAPTER XIII.

JOSEPH II.

1780—1790.

1. HIS YOUTH.

THE Emperor Joseph II., succeeded his mother Maria Theresa in the government of the Austrian hereditary dominions, in 1780. His reign as ruler of Austria was but short, lasting not much more than nine years; but during this brief period, he displayed so much activity and so much energy, that its traces remained indelibly stamped upon the monarchy, although many of his plans and projects took but very slight root, and many of his reforms had even to be repealed. The energetic rule of Joseph imparted to the sluggish mass of the Austrian states an impulse, by which it involuntarily acquired a certain amount of new life-blood. Although Joseph did not live to reap the fruits of his endeavours himself, they did not die with him; and his reign will ever remain one of the most momentous and memorable epochs in the history of the Austrian state.

Joseph II. was born on the 13th of March, 1741, in the midst of that anxious time when his mother, destitute both of money and troops, was pressed on all sides by the enemies of the Pragmatic Sanction, who were eager to

despoil her of her inheritance. Frederic II. had invaded Silesia; four days before Joseph's birth, Glogau had surrendered to the Prussians.

Joseph entered this world in the morning, at three o'clock; which made his father, the lively Francis of Lorraine, say, that the child would once be wide awake. Joseph was born a perfectly healthy and well-formed child, and from his strong limbs people prognosticated that he would one day become a valliant hero in war. His pious mother during her pregnancy had dedicated her unborn infant to the Virgin of Mariazell; and she now sent to that chapel as a thank-offering a silver statue weighing sixteen pounds seven ounces (half ounces English), which was the exact weight of the new-born child.

The first five years of his life, Joseph remained under the care of women. In 1746, he received, as *Coronæ Princeps* of Hungary, for chief governor, the Hungarian Field-marshal Prince Charles Batthiany, the son of the beautiful Lory Batthiany; the same whom Maria Theresa called Prince Eugene's codicil. He was a brave soldier, but without any knowlege of business and without any learning. In the same year, Pope Benedict XIV., who, with Augustus III. of Saxony-Poland, had stood sponsor to Joseph, remembered that he had still to send to his godchild, now five years old, the consecrated swathes. When the Nuncio Serbelloni handed them to Maria Theresa, the Empress, angry at the delay, replied, "That her son needed neither swathes nor point-lace; for he had already put on the Hungarian trowsers."

Maria Theresa was a most affectionate and careful mother, but very strict; and as Joseph grew up, she exacted from him, according to the manner of those times, most implicit obedience. Absolute subordination was the ruling principle of her household; a beck from her was equivalent to an explicit order, instantly to be obeyed. Joseph, who was of an exceedingly lively and ardent temper, found

it very difficult to submit quietly to being thus kept in leading-strings. He was obstinate, sometimes quite intractable; so that his mother used to call him "*the Starr-kopf*" (the stubborn one). She repeatedly said, "I teach my son to love music, that his disposition may be softened. My Joseph is not docile; he is mulish." Joseph, however, was very fond of his mother; and even when his heart and his own conviction were at variance with her will and pleasure, he conquered himself and obeyed from a feeling of filial respect. He even submitted to the pedantic constraint in which he was kept, and humoured his mother where her religious scruples took the shape of downright caprice. But he soon saw Maria Theresa's foibles, and her leaning towards bigotry; nor was he blind to the fact of crafty and ambitious hypocrites taking advantage of her. The consequence was that Joseph II., like Frederic of Prussia, conceived at an early age a deeply-rooted aversion to clerical insincerity and fanaticism. Joseph likewise saw through the fawning obsequiousness of the functionaries of the state; who, although insolent and overbearing in their offices, crouched before his mother, whom they knew to be keenly jealous of her paramount power; and, moreover, he saw through the high-born but low-minded noblemen, who flattered the vanity of the Empress to maintain themselves in a position to which they had no merit to recommend them. Against this class also, he formed a strong dislike.

But, as he was compelled to be silent and to conceal his feelings, he thus acquired early a habit of dissimulation; and a feeling of general mistrust and misanthropy grew upon him, which clouded the natural cheerfulness of his honest heart. From thence originated that bitterness and sarcastic sharpness with which in later life his otherwise noble and great qualities were alloyed; and thence that cold-blooded cruelty, which he only too often showed in his zeal for reform. In his latter years, he frequently

dropped in disgust his plans and undertakings, as soon as difficulties came in the way of their being carried out; he then solaced himself for the failure by a supercilious contempt for his contemporaries, whom he looked upon as unworthy of reform and improvement.

As long as the Empress Maria Theresa lived—and Joseph had completed his thirty-ninth year before she died—she clung with such tenacity to her superior authority, that her son, even long after he had attained to man's estate, nay, after being crowned Emperor of the Romans, had to bear from her, even in the presence of others, dry and harsh reprimands: for even in minute trifles, she expected him to conform to her pleasure.

Just as pedantic was the instruction which he received from his teachers. The chancellor Count Uhlefeld and the secretary of state Bartenstein became his masters in political science. Of their manner of tuition an idea may be formed from the fact that Bartenstein made the prince, at that time thirteen years of age, study the history of his country from fifteen folio volumes, expressly compiled for him from the documents in the archives. Lieutenant-general Wenceslaus von Liechtenstein instructed Joseph in the art of war. The sub-governor in this branch was the able Brequin. Religion was inculcated by the Jesuit father Franz, the first director of the "Oriental Academy," which Kaunitz established. The most eminent man by whom Joseph was influenced in his youth was Kaunitz himself, to whom he remained attached all through life with the most heartfelt gratitude.

An eye-witness who had known the Crown Prince from a child has given the following description of the development of his character during his youth: "His physical growth was quick and healthy, and he was a handsome and well-formed prince, but in his early years without spirit and energy. His mental faculties began later to expand, and his younger brother Prince Charles, who died

when scarcely eighteen, very soon surpassed him in dexterity, liveliness, and determination, and was therefore rather favoured before him; which is said to have cost Prince Joseph many a secret tear. The Crown Prince was always reluctant and slow to learn; but what he once learned, he never forgot. He wanted to know everything, and his knowledge certainly was admirable. He never showed the least inclination to be a spendthrift; but, on the other hand, no particular disposition to avarice was perceptible in him. He gave presents only to a few; but when he did give, his gifts were princely. To his inferiors he was kind, condescending, benevolent, and gracious. To those who were to command him, and to his tutors, some of whom were sorry pedants, he showed himself obstreperous, impatient, and capricious. To his parents he was obedient but reserved; to his brothers and sisters rather friendly than cordial, often satirical, rarely obliging, and always distant. He seemed to make light of the clergy, but to entertain a profound respect for religion; people who made a show of their attendance at church, and who ostentatiously prayed in public, were neither trusted nor favoured by him. Scholars and artists he treated with every consideration. To the fair sex he always paid great deference. He liked to dally with those whom he considered beautiful; but to all he was kind, civil, and affable, and exceedingly engaging and amiable in his conversation."

In his seventeenth year, Joseph was seized with the smallpox; and after his recovery, he became quite a different being. He gave up his sauntering ways, threw himself with indefatigable zeal into his studies, and showed almost an insatiable thirst for knowledge. At the age of eighteen, in the year 1759, during the Seven Years' War, he was to join the army of Field-marshal Daun, which was his most cherished wish; but his anxious mother suddenly changed her mind.

Joseph, when about twenty years of age, was a fine,

healthy-looking young man, slight, and not much above the middle height. The expression of his features was grave, but kind; his face was oval, his complexion clear, his glance spirited, good-tempered, and fascinating; there was something very winning about his smile, and his teeth were white and regular; his forehead was high and arched, his nose aquiline, and both of these features were very nobly formed. Even the marks left in his face by the smallpox, imparted to him a more manly expression. His eyes, his most characteristic feature, were light blue, or, as it was fashionable then to call it, "Imperial blue;" his noble, but energetic, quick, and even sometimes recklessly wilful disposition was fully reflected in them. Joseph was much more warm-hearted, and had in him much more youthful freshness than his great rival "old Fritz" ever had at any period of his life. Frederic saw Joseph for the first time, when the latter was a young man of twenty-eight. The king then said of him: "He is bred in a bigoted court, and has cast off superstition; he has been brought up in pomp, and yet has adopted plain manners; he has been nurtured with flattery, and yet he is modest."

Frederic, however, was not blind to the aspiring ambitious spirit which was working in Joseph; he therefore added, "He will surpass Charles V." Joseph was full of those philanthropic ideas of promoting the happiness of mankind which, having first been agitated in France, at that time stirred all the most generous minds among the Germans; and it marks most strikingly the contrast between him and Frederic, that during his French journey, in the prime of manhood, he in Paris went to see Rousseau in his garret; but, whilst in Switzerland, rigorously, and on principle, abstained from paying a visit to Frederic's great friend Voltaire at Ferney—an omission which not a little annoyed the vain philosopher.

2. JOSEPH'S RULE AS GERMAN EMPEROR.—HIS TRAVELS.

JOSEPH was twenty-four years of age when, on the 3rd of April, 1764, the Imperial crown of Germany was placed on his head. It was the coronation of which Göthe gives such a lively and pleasing description in his autobiography (Wahrheit und Dichtung). In the following year, his father the Emperor Francis died, and Joseph undertook the government of the German Empire. It seemed at first that Maria Theresa, in her grief at the loss of her husband, would altogether withdraw from public business, and end her days as she had repeatedly said she would — as the abbess of the newly-founded convent for noble ladies at Salzburg. But her pious intention, did not last over the second day. The love of public life, and still more the love of rule, were more powerful than the promptings of religious feeling. She, however, appointed Joseph as co-regent in the hereditary Austrian states.

Joseph at once plunged with the greatest zest into administrative reform. At the very beginning of his career as a ruler, he gave a rare example of disinterestedness. He burned coupons — government stock issued after the Seven Years' War — to the value of 22,000,000 florins, which he had inherited from his father. This was neither more nor less than making to the treasury a present of the capital and the interest. Having thus nobly acted up to his motto, "*virtute et exemplo*," he expected the same from the servants of the state and of the court. Joseph then proceeded to cut down every unnecessary expense; and therefore directed all the persons at court and in the government offices, to send in exact returns of their salaries and pensions. Jobbing of places also was put an end to. The very low acquirements of the functionaries as a body, is most strikingly proved by an order issued by Joseph on

the 28th of November, 1787, to the effect that the functionaries already appointed might amend their ignorance by availing themselves of the permission of attending the University of Vienna free of expense. At court, considerable reductions were made, and things placed on a much more simple footing. Formerly, every member of the Imperial family who had a separate household likewise kept a separate table; henceforth, there remained only the tables of the Emperor and of the Empress mother. The lord chamberlain's table also was done away with, and the gentlemen on duty were directed to leave their posts at one o'clock and to dine at home. Of all the numerous gala days, one only — New Year's Day — remained fixed; Joseph declaring that he would give notice whenever he intended to hold any other. The Spanish ceremonial, and the pomp and state with which majesty was wont to be surrounded, he abolished altogether; and issued a special order forbidding genuflexions, as he said that "men should kneel only before God." After the death of his mother, he gave permission to all public officials to call on their superiors in walking dress and in boots. In 1787, he cut down the title to be used in petitions and such like to the simple address, "To his Majesty the Emperor King." He forbade games of hazard; which, until then, had been permitted for the support of the French theatre, of which his father was very fond. Every faro table having paid to the *entrepreneurs* ten ducats, the consequence of the prohibition was, that the French theatre was obliged to close. Kaunitz, who likewise was very fond of French acting, was greatly annoyed. He was heard to say then, "*Je ne vois que des défenses, de tous cotés.*"

The court, pampered by the Empress, was quite startled when Joseph thus suddenly introduced strict economy instead of wasteful pomp and display; and when he tried to exchange the dawdling routine of the different boards for a spirit of method and application to business,

the officials of the court and of the government, disturbed in their Sybaritic ease and comfort, at once leagued themselves against Joseph. The Empress was solicited on all sides not to lay aside her gentle sceptre, nor to withdraw her favour and countenance from her millions of loving subjects. What flattery was not able to accomplish, was attempted by working upon her jealousy of power; and by representing to her, that her son, in his spirit of innovation, would overthrow all that his mother had done. Maria Theresa gradually again took the reins of government exclusively to herself; so that at last the young Emperor had nothing left to his care but the administration of the army. He had to wait sixteen weary years before he was able to carry out his plans of reform in his hereditary states.

In his capacity of German Emperor, Joseph found very little to do. That venerable ruin, the old constitution of the Empire, was too cumbrous and antiquated for him to attempt, with any chance of success, its re-organisation. Joseph, however, even in this sphere, did as much as it was at all possible for him to do. By an autograph note of the 21st of October, 1767, to the president of the Imperial Aulic Council, Count Harrach, he forbade, under under pain of dismissal, the receiving of any sort of presents on the part of the councillors, whether asked for or voluntarily offered; not even small gifts of articles of consumption were any longer to be tolerated. The note concluded thus: "This memorandum is to be publicly read out in the council, and every one is to copy it from dictation."

The other high court of the Empire, the Imperial Chamber (Reichskammergericht), was a true Augean stable. Piles of papers belonging to the different lawsuits were now heaped up by thousands, without the causes being ever brought to issue. A lawsuit in which the town of Gelnhausen was the plaintiff, had begun in 1549, and was

decided as late as 1734. Another lawsuit, between the Elector of Brandenburg and the city of Nuremberg, had lasted from 1526, and was still pending. The court enjoyed so little authority with the more powerful of the members of the Empire, that, in 1699, the Elector Palatine had caused its two messengers to be soundly cudgeled, and then to be sent about their business. Yet Joseph persisted in attempting the Herculean task of clearing away all this legal nuisance. A commission was appointed; three of the assessors of the court dismissed; and also the cunning Frankfort Jew Nathan, the broker in this barter of justice, had to disgorge 232,000 florins of ill-gotten fees, and was imprisoned for six years. A thorough clearance, however, was completely out of the question. Even at the time of the dissolution of the German Empire, there were found eight piles of law papers—*brutalia juris*, as they were called—of 80,000 causes, one half of which had never been tried.

The most useful act of Joseph, as German Emperor, was the salutary dread with which he struck the tyrants among the petty potentates of the Empire. One of the worst, the Rauh-Wild- and Rhinegrave Charles Magnus of Salm, being brought to trial for the most infamous frauds upon his creditors, and found guilty; Joseph condemned him to ten years' imprisonment in the fortress of Königstein near Frankfort. The illustrious count could not believe that his Majesty was in earnest; but Joseph soon taught him differently. The Rhinegrave remained six years and three months a prisoner at Königstein; the remainder of his punishment was remitted, but he was not allowed to resume the rule over his subjects.

During the sixteen years which Joseph had to remain an inactive spectator of the reign of his mother, he beguiled the time which the government of the German Empire and the management of the affairs of the army left him, by travelling. In March, 1766, he first traversed Hungary as far as Temeswar and Belgrade. In the same year, in

June, he travelled through Bohemia, Upper Silesia, and Moravia. On that occasion, he paid a short visit to the courts of Dresden and Munich. He had intended during the same tour to arrange a meeting with Frederick the Great; but Maria Theresa and Kaunitz, from reasons of policy, prevented it. In 1796, he set out in March for his first journey to Italy, accompanied by his master of the horse Count Dietrichstein. He was present in Rome at the election of Ganganelli for Pope; saw his sister Caroline at Naples, and his brother Leopold at Florence; and visited Parma, Turin, and Milan. In August, 1769, and in September, 1770, he twice saw his great rival Frederic, in the camp of Neisse and at Moravian Neustadt. At Neisse he was accompanied by his brother-in-law Prince Albert of Saxe Teschen, Marshal Lascy, General Loudon, and Count Dietrichstein; in Neustadt, besides, by Prince de Ligne and Prince Kaunitz. On this latter occasion, the partition of Poland was discussed. In 1772, he again went to Bohemia, to afford help during the famine which had broken out. In 1774, he made his second Italian journey. In 1777, he visited Versailles and Paris. On this journey, he assumed the *incognito* of a Count of Falkenstein, and he was accompanied by Counts Joseph Colloredo and Philip Cobenzl. He would not, however, quarter himself at Versailles on his brother-in-law, but put up at an inn; and in Paris also, he preferred to reside with the Austrian ambassador Count Mercy, at the Petit Luxembourg. He then travelled through the French provinces, and went by way of Bayonne as far as St. Sebastian in Spain, purposing to extend his tour as far as Madrid and Lisbon; when a courier reached him with the news of the illness of his mother. On his return, he saw Marseilles, Toulon, Lyons, Geneva, Berne, the Rhine-falls near Schaffhausen, Constance, and Bregentz. In 1778, he went through the war of the Bavarian Succession in Bohemia. In 1779, he again went to Bohemia, to lay the foundation of the new

fortresses of Theresienstadt, and Josephstadt. They were built on the very spots which Frederic the Great had pointed out at Teschen. Collenbach and Herzberg were then disputing about Glatz: but the king put an end to their argument by exclaiming, "Glatz is of no use to you; on these two spots you ought to build fortresses." In 1780, Joseph stayed from April to August with the Empress Catherine of Russia, at Mohilew, Smolensk, Moscow, and St. Petersburg.

Joseph was not free from vanity: it had long been his ardent wish to do for Austria what Frederic had done for Prussia; and it was his most cherished idea to earn the admiration of the world, as Frederic had done before him, and as it were to enjoy immortality in anticipation. On the 29th of November, 1780, his mother died; and now that he was independent, he set himself to make up for lost time.

3. JOSEPH'S ACCESSION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRIA. — HIS CLERICAL REFORMS. — THE EDICT CONCERNING THE CENSORSHIP AND RELIGIOUS TOLERATION. — VISIT OF THE POPE TO VIENNA.

JOSEPH was animated by a spirit of enterprise such as few men have possessed. Plan after plan followed in never-ending succession. The management of the foreign policy was left for the present in the hands of old Prince Kaunitz. Joseph, on his side, gave himself up heart and soul to domestic reform. The only idea which completely swayed him, was the welfare of the state. Whilst Frederic the Great used to say, "I am only the first public servant;" Joseph said, "I am only the steward of the nation." But, like Frederic, he also himself laid down the law as to what was beneficial to the state, and carried out his measures with just as absolute and arbitrary sway.

In a letter which he wrote shortly after the death of his

mother, in December, 1780, to the Duke de Choiseul in Paris, the following passage occurs: "I do not like to see the people to whom the care for our future life is entrusted, so busily exerting their wisdom on the subject of our earthly concerns." Joseph's principal reform indeed applied to the clergy as the stoutest opponents of that improvement of the intellectual condition of the people, which he intended to bring about in Austria. This reform he wished to be carried out as speedily and as radically as possible. The times of pious obscurantism were now to cease, and Catholic Austria was to become as far advanced in the path of light as Protestant Prussia under Frederic. With this view, Joseph, in the very first year of his reign, issued those two celebrated edicts which, as he hoped, in his sanguine enthusiasm, were to bring about that happy result;—the edict of the 11th of June, 1781, abolishing the censorship of the press; and the edict of the 13th of October, 1781, granting religious toleration to all the dissentients from the Romish Church.

These two radical edicts indeed effected a complete change; but in a very different way from that which the philanthropic Emperor had intended. Joseph, in his endeavours to force happiness upon his subjects, lost sight of one fact, that the soil which he wished to cultivate was by no means prepared to receive the seed; that it was a field covered with weeds and stones, and trodden hard. The natural consequences of enslaved thought—bigotry, fanaticism, ignorance, and superstition—had reduced the nation to a condition in which the light that Joseph wished to let in could only dazzle and scare those whom it was intended to benefit. It was an utter impossibility to lead his stultified Papist subjects, with one stroke of the pen, from their state of intellectual tutelage to that freedom of thought which was the characteristic of Protestant Germany. Joseph was a sincere Christian. Passing on his journey to Rome through Bologna, he said to the pro-

fessors of theology of that university: "I am no divine, I am only a soldier; but so much I know, that one way and one truth only leads to heaven,—and I hope you will in your schools keep to it,—the truth of Jesus Christ." But he committed a very great fault in setting aside at once every time-honoured authority, and endeavouring to uproot that which had become traditional by long custom. He was wanting in knowledge of men, and in that prudence without which consistency becomes obstinacy, and energy wilfulness.

The edict abolishing the censorship, granted the liberty of printing any work that was not "contrary to the state, religion, and morality." The consequence of this sudden removal of every check, was the production of a real deluge of the most worthless trash. The number of "book writers" who crowded to Vienna, there to establish their trade, was estimated at nearly four hundred. Matters came to such a pass, that the sensible part of the public and the educated classes urged the Emperor to check the licentiousness of the press. Joseph issued repeated declarations to that effect, and some few books were forbidden; among others, the famous "Wolfenbüttel Fragments," and German translations of Voltaire's "Pucelle d'Orléans," and of Spinoza's works. He allowed the sermons of the day to be criticised in the public papers, as he hoped in this way to drive bad preachers from the pulpit. Although naturally very sensitive, Joseph would not interfere when his own person was more or less bitterly attacked; "for," said he, "the public will not judge me from pamphlets, but from my acts."

The attacks against him—part of them stupid and others insolent and vulgar—had, however, one bad effect upon him; the abuse of the press made him indifferent and even averse to literature and learning. Even the *belles lettres* he held in contempt; and, however sincerely he admired Frederic II. as a general, a financier, and a states-

man, he found fault with his taste for poetry. In a letter to the prefect of the Imperial library, Baron Van Swieten, in 1780, he actually ridicules the polite French learning of the King of Prussia. He says in it: "Indeed I acknowledge that kings should not be quite strangers to the realm of science; but I think it quite supererogatory in a monarch to pass his time in writing madrigals. The Margrave of Brandenburg has become the chief of a sect of kings which busies itself in writing memoirs, poems, and treatises on different subjects. The Empress of Russia has followed in his steps, reading Voltaire, and writing plays, verses, and odes. Stanislaus Lesczinsky has written letters on peace, and the King of Sweden some epistles in the tone of friendship."

Joseph had no taste for the higher and finer branches of literature. He was a utilitarian, and loved none but the practical sciences. Even as a boy, he had evinced a passionate fondness for surveying and fortification, in which the engineer Brequin instructed him. Before his accession to the sole government of the Austrian hereditary states, he had diligently studied works on military science, political economy, and geography; and he showed all through life a great regard for those branches of knowledge the use of which was palpable, such as mechanics, the art of mining, natural history, and surgery. In Paris, he paid a visit to D'Alembert, the first projector of the "Encyclopædia," and to the great Buffon. Of the latter he asked the copy of his works which, as he said, "his brother the Elector Maximilian of Cologne had forgotten to take. (Maximilian had declined it with the not very delicate remark, "I do not wish to deprive you of it.") In Berne, he went to see the celebrated Haller; in Geneva, Saussure. But Joseph had no idea of nurturing the higher powers of intellect; with him everything was reduced to cyphers and masses, and nothing was cared for but what was of immediate and material utility. There was no taste in him

whatever for real poetry. His matter-of-fact sobriety saw no distinction between fiction and figment. Since the expulsion of the Jesuits, the study of the classical languages had fallen into utter decay in Austria. Blumauer's travestied Æneid, with which Joseph was highly amused, affords the best proof of the manner in which the classics were then regarded at Vienna. The German language rose only very slowly to anything like a cultivated state in Austria; Joseph, however, who wished to make it the general language of the monarchy, forced it at once upon the Hungarians and the Bohemians. At Schönbrunn, at a concert, he once, in very good humour, addressed a lady who was present. She, according to the old usage at court, answered in French. The Emperor then said to her angrily, "Why don't you answer in German? We are in Germany;" and turned away. Music was the only cherished and popular art at the time of Joseph, and it was then brought by Mozart to the height of its glory. But to excite the enthusiasm of the Viennese, it was obliged to assume that gay form which characterises some of the earlier operas of the great master, such as Figaro, and Belmonte and Constance (the Abduction from the Seraglio); whereas, on the other hand, the severe style of Don Juan at first would not at all take at Vienna: which made Mozart say, "The Bohemians will understand me."

It is well known that Beethoven also, in his lifetime, was very little appreciated in Vienna; that his sublime works made but little way with that gay public; and that the poverty to which he was left in the Imperial capital was relieved by the London Philharmonic Society.

The other important edict issued by Joseph within the first year of his reign, was the Edict of Toleration of the 13th of October, 1781, in which freedom of worship was granted to the Lutherans and Calvinists, and to the Greeks. A subsequent order, of the 19th of October, 1781, extended the same privilege even to the Jews. For the

Protestants a supreme clerical board (Superintendentur) and a consistory were established at Vienna; and many churches and school-houses were built for them in the provinces. Joseph began to appoint Protestants and Catholics indiscriminately to public offices and dignities; but he met with insurmountable difficulties in trying to establish complete equality of civil rights between the two confessions. He was forced to maintain the difference between the ruling church and the merely tolerated ones, and even to deprive the Protestants again of certain privileges which he had granted them. In the case of the Jews, the distinctive dress — the yellow sleeves and stripes — was abolished; and they were allowed to farm land, to carry on trades, arts, and manufactures, and to engage in commerce. On the other hand, they were obliged to send their children to the public schools, and were liable to serve as soldiers like the other subjects of the Emperor. Joseph's toleration, however, whilst benefitting all the different religious parties of Christians, and also the Jews, did not comprise the followers of natural religion, the Deists. There was a sect of such Deist peasants in Bohemia, who called themselves Abrahamites. Whoever professed to belong to them, was to receive the time-honoured number of twenty-five lashes; which patriarchal Austrian chastisement the philanthropic Emperor, in his endeavours for the happiness of his beloved subjects, had not thought meet to abolish.

The principal obstacle to the exercise of supreme power in the state,—the centralisation of which Joseph was determined to carry out,—consisted in the dependence of the Austrian church on Rome. He therefore resolved to reduce the influence of the Romanist clergy to the least possible degree; in fact, to render himself altogether independent of the Pope. In his reforms of the Church, he followed out the principles of a book which was published about that time, and in which the Jesuit doctrines, as applied to the canon law, were refuted by authorities of

the Church itself. That book was written in Latin, under the pseudonym of Justinus Febronius, by John Nicholas von Honthcim, Suffragan of Treves.* Treating of the actual state of the Church, and of the lawful power of the Pope to unite the dissenting religious parties under his sway, it contained the law of the Church in its primitive form. The work went through a great many editions, and was reprinted even in Portugal.

On the 1st of September, 1781, Joseph issued an order to the effect that henceforth no Papal Bull should have force of law in the Austrian states without the *placet* of the Emperor. The bishops were forbidden to accept titles and dignities from Rome direct; their oath to be taken to the Pope was clogged with the clause that it was not to interfere with their duty as Austrian subjects; and they had to swear a special oath to the Emperor. With this, one source of money for Rome was cut off. Joseph also ordered all the inmates of convents in the Austrian states to be subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary bishops, and no longer to that of their generals at Rome. With this, another source of money was cut off. Joseph, moreover, forbade the canonical dispensations for marriages within the venial degrees of kindred to be applied for to Rome; assigning these cases also to the ordinaries. This cut off a third source of money from the Papal treasury. Besides this, he did away with the payment of what was called the "Papal month,"—one month's revenue from every living falling vacant;—and this also was curtailing the Papal revenue. Every sort of remittance of money to Rome was put a stop to. Immediately within the first year of his reign, Joseph began to reduce the number of the 2000 monasteries and nunneries with their 70,000 inmates, which had until then existed in the Austrian monarchy. He at

* Justini Febronii de Statu Eccl. et legitima Potestate Rom. Pontificis L. ad Reuniendos Dissidentes. Francf. 1763-74, 4 vols. — A recantation was forced from the bishop when on his death-bed (1778).—*Transl.*

one stroke suppressed 700 religious houses, with 36,000 occupants, who, however, were allowed a pension. Of monasteries, those especially were done away with, whose inmates were living a life of mere idle contemplation; particularly those of the Carmelites, Carthusians, and Camaldulenses. Those religious houses only were allowed to continue in which the sick were nursed, or where schools were kept; but they were not permitted to receive any more novices, and they were also obliged to render an account of their income and expenditure. All the sisterhoods were suppressed, except those of the nuns of St. Elizabeth, who nursed the sick, and of the Ursulines, who instructed young girls. Of the property of the suppressed houses a fund was formed, called "The Religious Chest." From this there were to be defrayed the pensions — very small pittances, it is true — for the inmates of the secularised convents, the expenses for new schools, for new country churches, and for charitable foundations for the poor and sick. After the lapse of four years, the yearly revenue of the "Religious Chest" amounted to 2,300,000 florins. Yet soon after, these funds dried up, and the Emperor was reproached — and not without justice — with having spent the money for other secular purposes. In 1784 and 1785, Joseph established at Vienna the General Hospital, the Lying-in Hospital, the Foundling Hospital, the Medico-chirurgical Academy, called after him, and the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. To all these charitable establishments was added, in 1786, the institute for the education of officers' daughters at Herrnals; his tender care for which he showed by his frequent visits.

Joseph applied himself to strike at the root of bigotry and superstition in the very inmost recesses of their strongholds. The famous Bull against the heretics, "*In cœna Domini*," had to be cut out from all the rituals. A large quantity of monkish literature, belonging to the libraries of the suppressed monasteries, was sent to the stamping mill to be crushed into a pulp. The oath to be

taken (according to the law of Ferdinand III.) by the doctors of the universities on the immaculate conception of the Virgin was abolished; nor were people to kneel any longer in the streets before the host when it was carried by. Joseph ordered that people should only take their hats off. The miraculous images and the relics which, as a regular article of trade, were imported from Italy, were put out of sight; and the sale of amulets, consecrated waxen Agnus Dei wafers, printed charms, and other similar articles, which used to be carried on near the gates of the churches, was now forbidden. The images of the saints were stripped of their tawdry and sometimes ludicrous ornaments, of their odd yet precious dresses, of their periwigs and hoop petticoats. The theatrical style of church music was cast aside, the mass sung in German, the ribaldry and buffoonery at the processions were put down, the pilgrimages limited, and the numerous large general processions reduced to the one on Corpus Christi day.

In these measures, Joseph did not lose sight of the financial point. The sterile treasures of the places of pilgrimage, as for instance the one at Mariataferl, which of itself is said to have yielded above thirty hundredweights of gold and silver, were deposited in the "Religious Chest." Unfortunately, at the suppression of the monasteries the most valuable objects of art were destroyed; the silver and golden vessels were melted down by the Jews; whole libraries were sold at one and two florins the cart-load, and the most costly manuscripts were disposed of to the chandlers. From the old charters of the convents the seals were torn off, and the parchment was then sold as material for packing. The Vandalism of the commissaries charged with these spoliations was in this case just as stupid and ignorant as at the dilapidation of the celebrated collections of the Emperor Rodolph at Prague, of which mention has been made before.

Joseph had forwarded to the Pope, through his ambas-

sador at Rome, Cardinal Hrczan (Hiriczan), an exact and complete report of all his measures. The reply of Pope Pius VI. was to the effect, "That it was supererogatory to give to the Holy See information concerning all those things which the Emperor thought he had the power to do." Rather angry notes were exchanged between Cardinal Garampi, the Papal Nuncio at Vienna, and Prince Kaunitz. The cardinal said, among other things, "That none of the Austrian rulers had as yet dared to stretch his power so far as to dispose of the property of the Church, and to turn its revenues to purposes different from those for which the piety of the founders had intended them; to do away with the institutions of the orders most solemnly established by the Church; and to assign to the ordinaries rights which were the special prerogative of the Head of the Church." Kaunitz retorted, that, "By the very inconsiderate expression 'stretch of power' the Pope had invidiously hinted that the Emperor did not behave as became a Catholic prince. The Emperor would never allow any foreign power to meddle in any way whatsoever with those resolutions which he had formed and which he had an incontestable right to carry out in virtue of his prerogative as the arbiter of everything in the Church that was not of divine ordinance, but instituted by man. Owing to this prerogative, the Emperor owed an account to no one in anything that had no direct reference to doctrine or to the spiritual concerns of the Church. It was mere fancy that from the measures of the Emperor any injury had been inflicted on religion and the Church. The rights which for so many centuries had been considered to be an essential attribute of the bishops, would never be looked upon by the Emperor as exclusively belonging to the Pope." When Cardinal Garampi wished to make a further reply, Kaunitz declared, in the name of the Emperor, "That it was resolved no longer to argue on subjects concerning which the Emperor's views were known already."

Such was the state of affairs when Pope Pius VI., in February, 1782, sent to Vienna intelligence—which created no little sensation — that he would come himself to see Joseph, to speak with him as a father to his son. Joseph answered, "That he regarded this visit not only as a very *extraordinary* (sonderbar), but also as a very marked token of the benevolence of the Pope;" but in stating this, he declared in a positive manner, "that it would not have the least influence respecting the measures which he had taken; as everything had been done on mature consideration and in accordance with fixed principles." Pius VI. was a very handsome and affable, but also a very vain old man. In Rome the most sanguine hopes were built on his power of persuasion, as the Romans used to call him "*Il Persuasore.*" Pius, nothing daunted by the ambiguous civility of the Emperor, wrote to the Emperor on the 9th of February, 1782, that he would yet come. The Pope's intention had been to put up at the house of the Nuncio; but the Emperor Joseph, in his answer of the 16th of February, invited him to take up his residence at the Hofburg, where they might be nearer each other and more confidentially brought together.

Pius, after having prayed in the solemn hour of midnight before the shrine containing the relics of St. Peter at his church, set out from Rome next morning, on the 27th of February, 1782.

Since the days of the Council of Constance, for 364 years, no Pontiff had ever set foot on German soil. At every step of the road, Pius found hundreds of thousands who wished to receive his blessing on their knees. At the conclusion of this continued triumphal procession, he arrived, on the 22nd of March, at Vienna. The Emperor, by way of precaution, had caused all the accesses to the quarters of the Pope to be walled up; except the one entrance which was closely guarded, so that no one might be able to converse with the Holy Father without the

express permission of the Emperor. The Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, Count Christopher Migazzi, a handsome and gallant man of the world, had to leave the capital, and even to pay to a house of correction 2,700 florins, as a fine for illegal correspondence with the Pope.

Joseph, on the 22nd of March, drove out with his brother Maximilian, afterwards Elector of Cologne, beyond Wienerisch-Neustadt. Instead of kissing the slipper and holding the stirrup, he embraced the Pope three times *à la Française*, then took him in his own carriage and accompanied him to the Hofburg, where the apartments of Maria Theresa were in readiness for him. Pius stayed four weeks in Vienna. He was treated by the Emperor with every outward show of distinction, and he met with a very warm religious attachment on the side of the people; but he was greatly disappointed in the principal object of his journey. He had wished personally to discuss the matters in question with "his son" the Emperor; but whenever the Holy Father attempted to speak of business, Joseph apologised, saying, that he had first to consult his councillors. In fact, Joseph declined to enter into any verbal discussion, and demanded to have everything in writing, so that he might lay it before his divines. At the solemn high mass which the Pope celebrated on Easter day, at the cathedral of St. Stephen, Joseph was not present. The Papal managers of ceremonies having demanded, that the throne of the Pope should be raised one step above that of the Emperor, Joseph gave orders that his own throne should be entirely removed. The most remarkable treatment, however, the handsome and vain Pontiff received from old Prince Kaunitz. When the Emperor introduced him, and the Pope offered him his hand to kiss; Kaunitz grasped it, and shook it heartily *à l'Anglaise*, repeatedly exclaiming, "*De tout mon cœur! de tout mon cœur!*" Kaunitz did not call upon the Pope. The Pontiff himself then honoured him with a visit at his park in the suburb of Mariahilf, under the pretext of seeing his

pictures. Kaunitz received the Holy Father in an easy morning dress, and then acted as cicerone; but in a manner at which the Pope certainly might be astonished. Before the finest pictures he unceremoniously pushed the vicar of Christ, whom other mortal scarcely dared to look at, now to the right, and then to the left; it is true, always placing him in the best light to see the pictures, but handling him in the most irreverential manner. Pius, after this foolish visit, which was just of a piece with the whole of his ill-judged journey, confessed himself to have been "*tutto stupefatto.*" The Holy Father, however, did not forget to suggest to the "Ministro eretico," "that it would be high time for him, in his old age, to do something for the church."

At last, on the 21st of April, Pius had to leave Vienna without having been able to effect anything. The Emperor presented him, as a parting gift, with a diamond cross, of the value of 200,000 florins, and with a beautiful travelling carriage of Vienna manufacture. He accompanied him as far as Mariabrunn; and, for the perpetual remembrance of the affecting farewell which the Pope took of him at that place on the 22nd of April, he caused a gilt inscription in Latin and German to be put up on a marble tablet over the principal entrance of the parish church; and gave orders that a solemn mass should be celebrated every year on the anniversary of the event. But, as if to show in the most pointed manner that the Pope had not made him change his views, he suppressed the monastery of Mariabrunn itself only a few hours after the Pontiff's departure. Pius returned by Munich and Augsburg. In the latter town, as he himself triumphantly announced to the cardinals, he gave his blessing to an innumerable crowd from the windows of that very house "in which the detestable Augsburg Confession had been first proclaimed." To the prelates of the Swabian Circle he expressed himself thus: "Oh, my most beloved sons, I have tried every means to keep things in their old state, or to bring them back to it;

but ——! however, the affair is not yet at an end, let us pray and trust!" In the Tyrol, Pius excited the mountaineers to the greatest enthusiasm; of which a memorial obelisk, by the roadside near Innsbruck, bears evidence to the present day.

On his return to Rome, the Pope was reproached with having yielded too much. In fact, he had utterly compromised his Papal authority by this journey. "Who knows," said Frederic the Great to the Spanish ambassador Las Casas, "whether I might not at last have believed in the infallibility of the Pope?—— but — but that journey to Vienna!——"

To form a new bulwark for the hierarchy in Germany, the Pope afterwards, in 1785, established a Nunciature at Munich. The new Nuncio gave himself very strange airs. On his cards there was represented the figure of religion driving a triumphant car drawn by lions, over prostrate human beings. Joseph, on his side, had withdrawn from the Nuncios, as far back as 1783, all the privileges and rights which they had until then possessed in Austria, and transferred them to the ordinaries.

One of the most serious differences between the Pope and the Emperor was concerning the right of presentation to the livings in the duchy of Milan. In the Milanese archives, briefs of the Popes Martin IV. and Nicholas IV. were found, which conferred upon the Italian dukes of Milan the right of presentation; but, owing to the subservience which the Austrian successors of the Viscontis and Sforzas were always ready to show to the Papal see, this right had fallen into abeyance. As far back as in the year 1781. Joseph had claimed the revival of this right. In Rome, the Pope was persuaded to refuse his confirmation to the Archbishop of Milan, Visconti, whom Joseph had appointed. The Emperor then seriously threatened to have the archbishop installed by a Lombard council; and, on the 23rd of December, 1783, surprised the Holy

Father by returning his visit in Rome. The Pope was obliged to consent to the confirmation of the appointment; and a concordat was appointed on the 20th of January, 1784, by the terms of which the appointment of the clergy had to be left to the secular power, in the same way as had been the case in France and Spain ever since the days of Francis I. and Charles V.

As a counterpart to the Pope's enthusiastic reception by the people of Vienna, Joseph met with the warmest demonstrations of popular good-will in Rome, where the people cheered him in the streets with shouts of "Long live *our* Emperor." These demonstrations became so energetic that he avoided showing himself in public. Once, when the people surrounded him with their "*vivas*," he turned to them with his finger on his lip, and all were at once silent. No sooner, however, had Joseph removed his finger when the Forum again rang with, "*Viva l'Imperatore, Re de' Romani. Siete a casa vostra, siete il nostro Padrone!*"

The ambassadors of France and Spain, Cardinal Bernis and Cardinal Azara, turned the Emperor from the idea of coming to a formal rupture with Rome. "*I hope*," said Joseph to Azara, "*I shall be able to convince my people that they may remain Catholic without being Roman.*" He soon found powerful allies among the German prelates. The establishment of the new Nunciature at Munich, in 1785, brought the four Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, Treves, and Salzburg, into the field against the Pope. Treating this attempt of the Pope to exercise an extraordinary jurisdiction in Germany, as an encroachment upon their own metropolitan rights, they met at Ems, and discussed the measures for laying the foundations of a free *National Church*.*

* It was at that conjuncture that the Archbishop of Cologne founded the University of Bonn, which was intended to be a school of liberal Catholic theology.—*Transl.*

So much the more violent was the opposition against Joseph's clerical reforms in the hereditary Austrian dominions. The people and the clergy, after all, had come under the spell of the Holy Father. The excitement among the faithful who thought Christianity was in danger, rose to such a height that Joseph, not to exasperate them still more, was actually obliged to stop short in his reforms. From the distant provinces a vague report spread that the Emperor wanted to overthrow Christianity altogether. "The Emperor has turned Lutheran," was the cry; "and we are all to be made Lutherans, and religion is going to ruin." It is probable, although not definitely proved, that it was Joseph's plan to confiscate all the church property, and to make the clergy stipendiary functionaries; just as Catherine of Russia had done in her country. From a report of Baron Fürst to his court, of the year 1754, we even gather that Maria Theresa herself had entertained such a project. The clergy were to receive a "*portio canonica*," —a fixed sum of money; a prelate 1,000, a provost 600, a parish priest 300, and a chaplain 150 florins. There had also been an intention to retake possession of all those estates which the clergy had acquired since the year 1660, under Leopold I., and to allow them as a compensation a rental of two per cent. But the holy advisers of the Empress had suggested to their faithful daughter that she had better not do so. The Empress had only been able to bring about that the priest, as well as the noble and the peasant, should pay his mite towards the "contribution" for the maintenance of the standing army. So far as Joseph is concerned thus much is certain, that he declared himself administrator of the bishopric of Raab, of a yearly income of 80,000 florins, which had become vacant by the death of Count Zechi; that he reduced the revenue of the other Hungarian sees, the least of which yielded from 16,000 to 20,000 florins a year, to 4,000 florins; that he converted all the landed property belonging to the sees of Passau,

Constance, Coire, and Liége, into Imperial crown domains. But the feeling of the people in Austria made him still shrink from going to the full length of those measures of which Catherine had given him the example. The fanaticism which was excited against his person ran very high. At Lemberg, a monk wanted to murder him: Joseph ordered him to be shut up in a madhouse. At Innsbruck, an altar was to have been changed: the priests then made a great outcry that "the Emperor was going to overthrow the altars;" the consequence was that the Tyrolese broke out into open rebellion. At Villach, in Carinthia, a figure representing Luther was carried about the streets in a wheelbarrow, and afterwards thrown into the river. In several places, the Protestants actually were insulted and ill-treated.

4. REFORMS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NOBILITY. — THE NEW COUNTS FUCHS AND FRIESS. — FIRST ISRAELITE BARONS.

The priests were not the only class whose hostility Joseph excited; he arrayed against himself the nobles also, whose traditional as well as recently usurped privileges he tried energetically to keep down. First of all, he abolished the privilege of "corporate standing" (Einstandsrecht), which had been granted to them by Maximilian II. in 1572, and by the terms of which immatriculated nobles only could hold seignorial estates. Moreover, he did away with the ancient hypothecary rights of certain families, as for instance the Breuners and the Harrachs, of levying tolls and customs by land and water on their estates. Joseph also earnestly endeavoured to fill up the social gulf between the nobility and the educated classes of the *bourgeoisie*, and tried by every means to draw the commoners into the circles of the aristocracy. The bad grace with which the nobility received all these attempts did not deter him. At

Prague, he once introduced the wife of a burgher into noble society. As all the aristocratical ladies shunned her, the Emperor at once put her at ease by taking her for his partner in the first and only dance in which he engaged that evening. On his Swiss travels, in 1777, the bailiff of Berne, Count Erlach, had expected the Emperor at his castle, and had prepared to receive him with great state, and with cannon ready to fire a salute. He had sent to the Emperor an invitation, in which he, the republican, pompously put forth his title of Count.* Joseph answered that he "was too much covered with dust to call on such a great lord."

Ever since the times of the Thirty Years' War, the Austrian aristocracy had been recruited by military and official upstarts, such as Aldringer, Holk, Götz, Holzapfel, Sporck, Heister, Sparre, Dünewald, Häussler, and others; and the civilians Hocher, Bartenstein, Strattmann, and others. From the reigns of Leopold I., Charles VI., and Maria Theresa dates another very numerous class, "the bagatelle nobility;" which was raised from the ranks of the officials of the court even down to the valets, equerries (horse-breakers), and court dancing-masters. Thus, for instance, in 1702, the valet of the Emperor Leopold I., John Baptist Locatelli,—very likely the ancestor of the present Counts Locatelli,—was made a baron; and likewise in 1709, the valet of the Emperor Joseph I., Michael Legran, was made a Nobilis (Edler) von Granenfeld; and in 1721, the valet of the Emperor Charles VI., Maximilian Francis Bossart, as Nobilis von Sonnenfeld. In the same year, the court dancing-master, Francis Joseph Matthias Lang, was ennobled as Lang von Langenau. The lower official world, also the lower officers of the army, in short,

* The old Bernese patrician house of Erlach had received the coronet in 1745. The founder of the house, who died in the beginning of the seventeenth century, had had thirty-seven children by two wives; twenty-four by one, and thirteen by the other.

the "understrappers" of every department, furnished their contingent to this bagatelle nobility; the number of which was so immoderate in the time of Joseph II., that every respectable man was addressed as "Herr von ——*," and as "Ihr Gnaden." This bagatelle nobility of course formed quite a different sphere from the high territorial aristocracy, with which it came but little into contact.

Joseph II. granted letters of nobility especially to persons belonging to the higher commercial world, manufacturers, merchants, bankers, publishers, &c. Two bankers, Joseph John Nepomuck Fuchs and John Friess, were even promoted by him to the rank of counts. One of these ennobled bankers was Jacques Gontard, of Frankfort; who was made a baron in 1780. He was a brother of Countess Ludovica Nesselrode, the mother of the present Russian states-chancellor.

Joseph conferred the dignity of barons and counts not only on deserving individuals, but he also granted them to any one who would pay for them; making, after the example of his mother, nobilitation a source of finance. A patent of count generally cost 20,000 florins. Count Palm had, in 1783, to pay for a patent of prince not less than 500,000 florins; for one-half of which sum a foundling hospital was established. Joseph once even ennobled one of his menial court servants; but from very different motives than his predecessors had done. He had been so disgusted with the incessant "*Herr von*" and "*Ihr Gnaden*" in Vienna, that one day in joke he hailed one of his lacqueys as Herr von ——. The man, with great presence of mind, at once thanked the Emperor for having ennobled him. The Emperor nodded and laughed. But the as-

* *Herr von* is like the French *Monsieur de* ——. *Herr* without the *von* is not a title. *Ihr Gnaden*, your Grace, corresponds to the English "your Lordship."—These over-polite modes of address are still in use at Vienna, and in those parts of the Austrian monarchy where it is thought fashionable to ape the usages of the capital.—*Transl.*

tonishment of the Viennese was highest when Joseph created Jewish barons; as for instance, in 1783, the banker Joseph Michael Arnstein, whose wife Fanny Itzig of Berlin enjoyed great favour with the Emperor.

As far back as 1766, one year after the death of his father, Joseph threw open the Prater to pedestrians. When the nobility, whose equipages alone had until then the right of entry, remonstrated against this innovation, Joseph replied: "If I wished to keep company only with my equals, I should have to go down to the vault in the Capuchins and there pass my days." "Joseph," as the Prince de Ligne said, "expected from the nobles more noble-mindedness; and if they were deficient in this quality, he despised them more than others." To prevent aristocratic profligates from seducing the burghers' daughters, he made a statute that natural children also should be the heirs-at-law of their unmarried fathers. He removed altogether the disadvantages attaching to illegitimate birth, as he wished the innocent children not to suffer for the sin of their parents.

Joseph refused in any way to acknowledge the unsupported claims of mere birth. He wrote to the widow of a general belonging to a house of the highest aristocracy, who had applied to him for a company for her son: "I do not see the obligation of a monarch to give a place to one of his subjects because he is a nobleman. I really pity you, madame, for having a son who is neither fit to be an officer, nor a statesman, nor a priest, in short, who is nothing but a nobleman, and that with all his heart and soul. Thank Providence, which, whilst denying every talent to your son, has placed him in possession of considerable property, so that he may completely dispense with favours of mine." This letter is dated 4th of August, 1787.

The nobility were also displeased when Joseph presented commoners to the episcopal sees, which until then had been monopolised by the aristocracy.

It was Joseph's determined will to do away with the two principal institutions of the middle ages, feudality and hierarchy, because he was convinced that the two powerful motives on which those institutions were based, honour and religion, had ceased to be the leading principle of the nobility and the priesthood. On the other hand, he very plainly in a letter to a Hungarian noble laid down the principle, "That the peasant who is bound to bear the greatest burdens for the public benefit, has a particular claim to the protection of his king."

In order publicly to honour the calling of the cultivator of the soil, he once, in 1769, at the estate of Posowitz in Moravia, belonging to Prince Liechtenstein, drove a plough with his own hand in the open field before all the people. It was his earnest wish to procure for the peasant and the burgher the full enjoyment of the rights of man. During his first travels through Hungary in 1766, among others, the following remarkable petition had been handed to him: "Most merciful Emperor, *four days' forced labour for the seigneur; the fifth day, fishing for him; the sixth day, hunting with him; and the seventh belongs to God. Consider, most merciful Emperor, how can I pay dues and taxes?*" Joseph abolished serfdom in all his states,—in Hungary, on the 22nd of August, 1785,—and introduced, to the detriment of the nobility, a system of removing feudal burdens and converting forced labour into a sinking rate. Taxation should henceforth be—what it had not been until then—perfectly equalised, and the nobility also should have to contribute their quota in proportion to their property. The Hungarian constitution, by which the nobility was exempt from taxation and only the *misera plebs contribuens* had to pay, was an abomination to him. He wrote in July, 1786, to Count Charles Palffy, chancellor of the kingdom of Hungary, the impressive words, which remained unheeded until, after the "Turba" of 1848, the Magyar nobles were forced to heed them: "*The*

privileges and liberties of a nobility or a nation, in all the countries and republics of the world, do not consist in the nobles contributing nothing *to the public burdens; on the contrary, they, for instance, in England and Holland, pay* more *than others: but their privileges consist solely in this, that they themselves submit to bear the burdens requisite for the general welfare; and that when an increase of taxes is demanded by circumstances, they take the lead by voluntarily granting them.*" Among Joseph's reforms concerning the nobility, we have still to mention his energetic measures for the suppression of that barbarous remnant of the middle ages, duelling. He wrote in August, 1771, to a general officer of his army: "I will allow no duelling in my army; I despise the principles of those who try to defend and justify it, and who in cold blood can run another through. I consider such a man as nothing better than a Roman gladiator. I will have such a barbarous custom suppressed, and those who practise it severely punished; even if it cost me the half of my officers."

5. REFORMS OF THE SYSTEM OF TAXATION.—MEASURES FOR COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.—LAW REFORMS.—SECRET POLICE.

To carry out his favourite idea of equalised taxation, the Emperor resolved upon thoroughly reforming the existing mode of assessment in Austria, Bohemia, and Galicia; the old system being for the present allowed to continue in Hungary, the Tyrol, Lombardy, and the Netherlands. The beginning of this great work was made in 1784. The celebrated "Regulation concerning Taxes," was issued in 1789; and repealed by Joseph's successor, Leopold II., on the 6th of April, 1790. Joseph, in this work also, adopted the ideas of the French philanthropist philosophers; carrying out the generalising principles of what was called "The Physiocratical System," and taking no heed what-

ever of the different natural character, and capabilities of the several provinces. Joseph at once took for granted the absolute truth of the theory, according to which agriculture is the paramount source of national wealth; and endeavoured practically to carry it out. He did this with his usual impetuosity, urged by his enthusiasm for the welfare of his people, and unwarned by the representations of his ministers; who intreated him not to take any rash steps in a matter which required long consideration and preparation. Previous to the new system of taxation being put in practice, all the land in those three provinces had to be surveyed; the expenses of which operation are calculated to have amounted to 120,000,000 florins. The new rates left seventy per cent. of the gross proceeds to the peasant; twelve per cent. and a fraction were to be paid to the crown; and seventeen per cent. and a fraction to the seigneur. All the feudal burdens of forced labour and revenues furnished in kind were to be commuted into money payments. Yet no one was satisfied with this new regulation, which had been intended by Joseph to make his people happy, and complaints came in from the estates of all the provinces in which it had been introduced. The manifesto by which Leopold II. repealed it, openly states that it had been an absolute failure.

Joseph's commercial policy was rigorously protective. In 1784, he decreed a general prohibition of the importation of foreign goods, manufactures as well as articles of consumption. In this matter also, Joseph himself set a good example. He gave away all the foreign wines of his cellar to the hospitals, and ordered none but Hungarian and Austrian wines to be served at his table. The dealers of Vienna were forbidden to sell foreign articles at their shops. All the stores of such goods on hand had to be disposed of in what was formerly the monastery of St. Lawrence; and, after all was thus sold, he allowed private persons to import, on payment of an *ad valorem* duty of

sixty per cent., any goods they pleased from the foreigner. The merchants and dealers, however, were strictly forbidden to do so. The consequence was that an extensive contraband trade sprang up; but Joseph took his measures against it with implacable severity. Whatever prohibited goods could be found, were at once confiscated and mercilessly destroyed. Thus he once caused a considerable number of gold and silver watches, snuff-boxes, buckles, whole pieces of silk and woollen stuffs, broad cloth, Mechlin point-lace, velveteen, muslin, parcels of braid, buttons, jewelry, &c., to the value of many thousand florins, to be piled in a heap and burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the river. Manufactures now certainly began, for the first time, really to prosper in Austria. English, French, North Germans, and Swiss established themselves in Austria, and especially in Vienna. At Linz, the manufacture of woollen stuffs began to flourish. Even within one year after the decree was issued, twenty-four new manufactories might be counted. But in this case also, Joseph had had to experience that rules which are just in the abstract, may sometimes do great individual mischief in the application. The Tyrol, whose principal resource was the transit commerce, suffered so severely from these new measures, that its traffic which, in 1756, had amounted to 10,000,000 florins, was now reduced to 3,000,000. Joseph, therefore, was obliged to abolish his system of customs as far as that province was concerned.

It was one of the Emperor's principal cares to create for Austria a maritime commerce. He wished to connect Trieste with Ostend, and the Maritime Company (Seehandlungs-societät) of that sea-port was mostly composed of Ostend and Antwerp merchants. Antwerp itself he wished, at the expense of Amsterdam, to raise to its old commercial prosperity. The firms of Bolts and Proli opened a direct trade with the East Indies. Experienced mariners offered, for the purpose of establishing settlements,

to take possession for Austria of unoccupied islands, or to go on voyages of discovery. There were already Austrian factories in the Isle de France (Mauritius), and even in Canton. As, however, owing to that clause of the Peace of Westphalia which, in favour of the Dutch, declared the Scheldt to be a close river, there was no direct outlet; Joseph tried, in 1784 and 1785, to obtain from the Dutch government the opening of that river: but all was in vain; even France, Austria's close ally, joined in the opposition against it. The Emperor was more successful with regard to the navigation of the Danube and the Black Sea. The Danube was to become the great artery of the monarchy. In 1783, a most advantageous commercial treaty was concluded with the Turks, in which the Austrians obtained the same rights that the Russians, the most favoured strangers in the Turkish Empire, enjoyed. In the August of that very year, the captain of pontonniers, Lauterer, went by ship from Vienna all the way to Constantinople; but he died soon after his return. Captain Baron Taffner navigated the first sea-going vessel from the River Kulp in Hungary into the Danube, and thence to Constantinople. For Hungary, Joseph entertained the most comprehensive plans of organisation. When, in 1784, the town of Ofen, out of gratitude for his having made it the seat of government, wished to erect to him a statue, he declined this honour, and wrote to the magistracy and the burghers: "When I have once succeeded in making the Hungarians acknowledge the true respective positions of them and their king; when I have put down all the abuses in the church and in the state; when I have called trade and industry into life, and have provided the country from one end to the other with roads and navigable canals, as I hope to do;—then the nation may, if so inclined, erect a monument to me, and then I will gratefully accept it, as I may think perhaps that I have deserved it." But the Hungarian nobles set their faces against all

and every improvement; and thus Joseph's vast plans for the benefit of their country were none of them carried out.

The first principle of Joseph's political economy was, "Let the money remain in the country." In carrying out this theory, he went so far as to allow all the books and newspapers published in foreign countries to be piratically reprinted in Austria. Even the religious orders were forbidden henceforth to procure breviaries, missals, and other ritual books from foreign countries; measures being taken to have all these works printed at home. With the same view of keeping the money in the country, it was ordered that landed proprietors who were living abroad, or who did not pass at least six months at home, should pay double taxes.

Joseph's measures for the public benefit extended also to the abuses of the old trade corporations. In March, 1787, the Vienna butchers applied to have the tariff of the meat raised, asserting they could not live with the low prices hitherto allowed. They were answered, "That in that case they had better shut up shop; many among their journeymen might be found who would be glad to sell meat at the present prices. If any of the master butchers dared arbitrarily and secretly to raise their prices, or to sell bad meat, they should for each pound thus sold receive fifty lashes on their own flesh."

The administration of the law was, next to the finances, the principal point on which Joseph's plans hinged. Within the first year of his accession, he decreed a new regulation of procedure, which gave the deathblow to the grinding trade of pettifogging advocates, whose number, formerly quite out of all proportion, now at once dwindled in Vienna to forty. The Emperor changed them into stipendiary functionaries. They were strictly forbidden to take any remuneration from their clients, who, instead, had to pay their fees into court. In 1786, Joseph introduced a new civil, and in 1787, a new

criminal code. Both were written in German, and intelligible to all. The first principle laid down, was the equality of all in the eyes of the law. Torture was abolished altogether; and for some time also the punishment of death, until the increase of capital crimes convinced him of the necessity of maintaining it. In the award of punishments, no distinction of persons was made. Superior education was in his eyes only an aggravation of guilt, as those who had enjoyed the advantage of it might be supposed to have less temptation to crime than the poor and uneducated. Noble offenders had to submit to the pillory, to the degradation of sweeping the streets, and of dragging the ships in the canals. The fine gentleman was seen pulling the boats in the same gang with the rough Slovack and Wallachian. Joseph said expressly: "*Vice is vice; among the vicious none can be privileged.*"

The beautiful swindler Mademoiselle Baillou, who before she was found out had been the ornament of all the best circles of Vienna, had to stand in the pillory and to go to the House of Correction. Count Podstatsky Liechtenstein, who had forged bank-notes, had to sweep the public streets like any common convict, dressed in coarse brown cloth, with cropped hair and in chains. The family of this count, who succumbed under his punishment, was not allowed to suffer for his misconduct. Joseph frequently invited his aged father to his table and to his parties. The case which most bitterly exasperated the nobility against the Emperor, was that of the old lieutenant-colonel of the guards, Von Szekuly: who, having committed a defalcation of 97,000 florins from his regimental chest, had to stand for three days running, two hours each time, in the pillory; after which he was sent to the House of Correction for four years. Szekuly was a Freemason and a Rosicrucian, and had in vain tried to repair his deficit by alchymical experiments. The Freemasons then tried to make it appear that Joseph had used such severity

against Skekuly merely from spite against them. Certain it is that Joseph, like Frederic the Great in his later years, had a very mean opinion of the order of the Freemasons.

Yet, indifferent as Joseph was to the mysteries of the craft, he did not disdain to put himself at the head of secret orders; partly from vanity, and partly with a view to use them for his own purposes. Thus the Freemasons and the Illuminati were made the tools of his plans for the acquisition of Bavaria. He took advantage of the hatred of enlightened Bavarians against the grossly sensual, idle, and intolerant set of priests in that country, to gain partisans there. Whilst the Barons Bassus, Costanza, and Knigge thought to serve only the interests of the Order of Illuminati, they were but the dupes of Joseph; until Frederic the Great opened their eyes. There was nothing in the world which afforded Joseph greater gratification than the perusal of the reports of the secret police, which Kaunitz had established in Vienna after the pattern of that in Paris. It was one of the most singular features of the philanthropist ruler who was so strenuously bent on making his people happy, that he should have entered with such zest upon the practice of all the tricks of the secret police. For this hobby—as we may call it—no money was spared by him. His grandfather, Charles VI., before him, had kept well-paid spies and secret agents at all the courts of Europe to push the Pragmatic Sanction. Among other pieces of intelligence, they apprised him of the plan of Belleisle not to allow Maria Theresa and Francis, her husband,—whom Charles, about the end of the year 1738, in a fit of ill-humour, had sent into a sort of exile in Tuscany,—to leave Italy again for Vienna; but, with the help of a party in the Venetian senate,—to whom Mantua was held out as a bait,—to arrest them and keep them imprisoned at Grenoble as hostages for the peace of Europe, until the Austrian Succession should be settled. In Vienna itself, the regular police in Joseph's time was wretched.

On the other hand, the city was overrun with French spies, who did their duty so well, that the minister Fleury once, on their information, made a formal complaint of a conversation of Duke Francis with the English ambassador Mr. Robinson, which the French minister thought had been too long. Kaunitz having very cunningly turned Maria Theresa's commissions of chastity to account in organising a very effective secret police, combined with it the Cypher Cabinet at the Stallburg. This latter establishment, not even surpassed by that in Paris, was ruled with the strictest discipline; the very well paid "*déchiffreurs*" being almost exclusively restricted to the intercourse with those of their own body, and kept under the closest surveillance. The violation of the postal secrecy throughout such a large extent of country as from Hamburg to Milan, and from Brussels to Belgrade, could not fail to lay open a great many weighty secrets in their very bud. Frederic the Great was several times enraged at it, and even discharged some of his cabinet secretaries on suspicion of their having been the traitors. Joseph, however, like Louis XVI., the Emperor Paul, and even Napoleon, was repeatedly mystified by forged intelligence being put in his way. People chose this means to overthrow some obnoxious rival or coterie. Hormayr states that Joseph was thus repeatedly led on a false track. He lost, in this way, one of his best cabinet secretaries, Günther. Vienna, under Joseph, was indeed a real hotbed of agents of the secret police. One-half of the people, even from the very dregs, were set to watch the other; wanton wives, profligate sons, faithless and ungrateful friends, and corrupt servants, were paid to inform against those most nearly connected with them, to find out crimes which did not exist, and which often were exaggerated by the spies with a view to earn a greater reward for the information.

6. PLANS OF CENTRALISATION.—JOSEPH'S OPINION ON THE REORGANISATION OF GERMANY.—REACTION IN HUNGARY.—HORJA'S INSURRECTION IN WALLACHIA.—JOSEPH'S JOURNEY TO THE CRIMEA.

ALL the measures of Joseph aimed at one object, which he never lost sight of—the plan of uniting the whole of his countries into one state, and all his peoples into one nation. Being a disciple of the generalising philosophy of the eighteenth century, he completely left out of his calculations, how widely the several provinces of Austria differed from each other in customs, traditions, civilisation, and even in climate. In Joseph, the old Ghibelline policy of the Hohenstaufens revived again. In his antagonism against the non-Germanic nationalities, against the Church of Rome, and against the division of Germany into petty sovereignties; he had in view the old idea of Imperial supremacy; and of German hegemony. But the grand idea of becoming the Emperor of the Romans in reality and not in name only, and of making the Pope again what he had originally been,—Bishop of Rome, and nothing more; could only have been carried out under the condition of Joseph's allowing the Northern Semiramis to revive the Eastern Empire,—not to mention other obstacles, such as the opposition of Austria's new rival Prussia.

Joseph therefore had to content himself with recasting the hereditary states of Austria in one uniform mould. In this sense he wrote, in January, 1785, to a Hungarian magnate who had remonstrated with him about the introduction of the German language into the Hungarian courts of justice: "The German tongue is the universal language of my Empire; why should I allow the public law and other business to be treated in a separate province in its own separate national language? *I am Emperor of the German Empire, and all the other states which I pos-*

sess are provinces which, in combination with the whole state, form a body of which I am the head."

Joseph's view with regard to the re-organisation of Germany has acquired a double interest in our own days, when the same idea has been so vehemently agitated again. He expressed it in a letter to the coadjutor Dalberg, dated Vienna, 13th of July, 1787. He evidently did not blind himself to the difficulty of the task. He says: "A close connection of the Emperor with the body of the German Empire, is the only means that could render our fatherland happy: but it would be as difficult to effect it, as to find the philosopher's stone, since the question is, how to reconcile the conflicting interests with one another, especially those of the tools and agents of the executive power; who purposely confuse the affairs of Germany and render them a really insupportable pedantic concern, merely in order to deter the princes from seeing with their own eyes, to blind them to their own interests, to keep them dependent, and thus make themselves indispensable. . . . . Would that our German patriots had some patriotism of their own not borrowed from others. *Would that they had neither Gallo-mania nor Anglo-mania, neither Prusso-mania nor Austro-mania;* that they would at least see with their own eyes, and themselves find out their true interests. Whereas now they are mostly only the echo *of some miserable pedants and intriguants.*"

The Ghibelline policy of the Emperor met with the first violent reaction in 1784. The first signs of the storm showed themselves in Hungary, which, with its old liberties and charters, was, of all the Austrian states, the one most hostile to Joseph's system of centralisation. Joseph, contrary to the ancient custom, had not allowed himself to be crowned, nor had he taken the constitutional oath. On the 13th of April, 1784, he caused the crown of St. Stephen, which the Hungarians consider as their most sacred Palladium, to be secretly conveyed from the castle at

Pressburg to the Vienna treasury. It was remarked that just when this removal was going on, a flash of lightning had struck right and left of the bridge of boats into the Danube, accompanied by a loud peal of thunder, whilst not a cloud was visible in the sky. Joseph, however, promised the Hungarians that he would restore the crown as soon as the building at Ofen, where it was to be guarded, should be finished. Joseph had also given orders for the survey of the country at the expense of the landed proprietors, with a view to the new mode of taxation; and, moreover, he had introduced conscription, which until then had been a thing completely unknown in Hungary. All these measures were contrary to the constitution of the country, and had been taken without the assent of the Estates being asked for. Joseph thought that he was merely exercising his right as sovereign; but the Hungarians were of a very different opinion. The re-organisation of Hungary on a German footing, was to them a most hateful idea. Their political creed may be told in a few words. They wished the kingdom to remain for ever the same as it had been since the time when its ancient charter was granted. Whilst nearly all the great states of Europe, especially France and Prussia, had extended their power by introducing a system of centralisation, of standing armies, and permanent taxation; whilst Russia, in the same path, had made immense progress; whilst England herself had long modified the Magna Charta; Hungary alone should stand still, *shielded by the power of Austria from foreign oppression.* The selfish Magyar magnates—unwarned by the fate of Poland, which had likewise hastened its ruin by resisting every attempt to keep pace with the times in salutary reforms—expected to carry on their easy luxurious life at the cost of the *misera plebs contribuens.* Joseph, however, did not intend, in remodelling Hungary, to stop short at the gentle measures of his mother; who never forgot that she owed the salvation of her monarchy

to the Hungarians. In his eagerness to introduce one uniform system into the whole of the monarchy, he committed the political blunder of braving the fundamental laws and charters of the Hungarian, without having first covered himself by a friendly compromise with the Estates. In fact, he had overrated his power, and the Hungarian nobility soon made him to feel theirs.

When, in 1784, it was announced that the conscription would be introduced in Hungary, the Greek Wallachians in the Hunyad county, in Transylvania, broke out in a bloody rebellion. They allowed themselves to be set on by the Hungarian magnates; who insidiously instigated them to commit all kinds of outrages and scandalous excesses, hoping thus to bring about the repeal of Joseph's measures of reform. Their ostensible leader was Horja, a young peasant of Transylvania, whom his seigneur, in virtue of the then still existing right of the nobles, had sent to serve in the army for an indefinite period. He soon became an excellent soldier and acquired some knowledge of the world, so as to understand very well the difference between the humane dispositions of the Emperor and the manner in which his Imperial laws were carried out by the nobles of his country. Horja communicated his experience to the peasants of his own neighbourhood; and, raising with them the standard of insurrection at Czebe, he made war against the châteaux, attempting to obtain from the nobles by force what they would not do from obedience to the Emperor. The Hungarian nobles then at once assembled in arms: for, although there is not in Transylvania any compact Magyar population, yet there are whole towns, like Dees, inhabited by none but nobles; and the Szecklers, who have their own districts, are all of them reckoned among the nobility. The Imperial military commanders, who of course could not allow any breach of the peace, joined the nobles. The Hungarian magnates, to frighten the Emperor, charged Horja with the most exorbitant de-

mands, "that the Hungarian magnates and nobles should resign their privileges, leave their possessions, and divide their estates with the peasants; that all should pay contributions, and all adopt the Greek religion." Horja was aided by a Greek priest, Krischan, in fanning the fanaticism of the people. On the other hand, the *agents provocateurs* of Joseph were likewise active in setting the peasants against the seigneurs; so that the rude ignorance of those poor people was played upon from two sides. Horja himself pretended to be an agent of the Emperor's; he wore a "chain of honour," to which a medal with the portrait of the Emperor was appended, and he showed a document written in gilt letters, which he called an Imperial patent. All these circumstances could not fail to make Joseph's conduct appear in a very bad light; and matters took even a worse aspect when the Emperor announced to the misguided people a general amnesty, but set a price of 300 ducats on Horja's head. The most sanguinary excesses were now committed; the number of the rebels rose to 36,000; as many as 4,000 men were murdered, and 132 noble estates and 62 villages devastated — the gold district of Zalatna suffering most. At last, the Imperial soldiers, under Paul Kray, put down the rising; and the rioters gradually made their submission. Horja, a very energetic man, wanted to ally himself with the malcontent Hungarian nobles against the Emperor. They, however, left him in the lurch, and he was taken prisoner. He now offered that if they would take him to Vienna, he would disclose to the Emperor facts of the greatest importance. This being refused,—as was alleged, from very weighty reasons, — Horja was, on the 3rd of January, 1785, broken on the wheel at Carlsburg; 2000 captive Wallachians being brought to the spot as forced spectators of their leader's execution. One hundred and fifty of the rebels also were impaled, according to the barbarous fashion of their country.

With this rising of the Wallachians, the Emperor's difficulties began. The Hungarians had attained their object; Joseph was frightened, and was obliged, in order not to exasperate the Magyars too much, to stop short in his Hungarian reforms, just as he had been obliged to do in his clerical ones. In the meanwhile, he was engaged in a number of schemes of foreign policy, the greater part of which met with unforeseen obstacles. In his quarrel with the Dutch concerning the free navigation of the Scheldt, he had, owing to the opposition on the part of France, in the Treaty of Fontainebleau of the 18th of November, 1785, to content himself with a compensation in money, a "perquisite" (*Trinkgeld, pourboire*), as Frederic the Great sarcastically called it. He received from the Dutch 10,000,000 florins; having first asked 15,000,000, and then 12,000,000. The plan proposed, in 1785, of exchanging Belgium for Bavaria Joseph was likewise obliged to relinquish; as Frederic the Great concluded against it, on the 23rd of July of that year, at Berlin, the League of Princes with Saxony and Hanover.

The interest of Joseph's foreign policy, however, lay principally on the side of Turkey. It was his favourite idea, as head of the Western Empire, to put an end to the rule of the Eastern barbarians at Stamboul. Joseph, who considered this to be his special mission, wrote afterwards, when the war had broken out, to Count Montmorin, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, from the camp of Semlin, on the 6th of July, 1788: "The time has arrived when I come forth as the avenger of mankind, taking upon myself to indemnify Europe for what it had once to suffer from them (the Turks); and when I hope to sweep from the world a set of barbarians who have been so long its scourge."

To attain his object, Joseph allied himself most closely with Catharine of Russia, with whom he wanted to divide Turkey in the same manner that his mother, and Frederic

the Great, and Catherine had divided Poland. The Czarina set out in spring, 1787, on her celebrated journey to the Crimea. Joseph accompanied Catherine on this tour. Their suite comprised the Russian Prince Potemkin, the Princes de Ligne and of Nassau, the Russian ambassador at Constantinople Baron Bulgakoff, the French ambassador Count Segur, and the English ambassador Fitzherbert, the Austrian ambassador at St. Petersburg Count Louis Cobenzl, and the Inter-nuncio at Constantinople Baron Herbert. During this journey through the Crimea, the plans were devised for the Turkish campaign which took place in the following year. Joseph set out on the 11th of April, 1787, travelling *incognito* as Count Falkenstein. He went by Lemberg, Brodi, and Cherson. On the 18th of May, he met Catherine. Both then travelled in the same carriage and dined together. The journey lasted until the 13th of June. On the 30th of that month, Joseph was back in Vienna.

7. REACTION IN THE NETHERLANDS.—CHANCELLOR CRUMPIPEN.

It was necessary for Joseph to hasten his return. A new storm had burst forth. Whilst he was planning on the shores of the Black Sea with the Czarina the conquest of new provinces, he was threatened in the West with the loss of an old possession of his house. The new storm rose in the Netherlands, which since the Peace of Utrecht had returned to the Austrian branch of the House of Habsburg, after having been subject for more than 150 years to the sovereignty of Spain, to which they had been made over by the family arrangements of Charles V.

One of the first regents appointed by Austria under this new settlement had been the daughter of Leopold I., the Archduchess Maria Elizabeth; who held the government of the Low Countries from 1725 to 1750, and now

the regency was again held by an archduchess, Christina, the wife of Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen.

We must, however, first mention the predecessor of this latter lady, Prince Charles of Lorraine, who governed the Netherlands from 1750 to 1781. Being a great favourite with his Imperial sister-in-law, he had long reigned with absolute power, and carried matters with a very high hand; and, in his brutal ways, he often fell out with the English and Dutch generals. At last he became quite childish, but continued to say, as he had done before, even if things happened which he did not approve of: "*Eh bien, n'importe, je n'en serai pas moins le Prince Charles de Lorraine.*" In 1770, the Empress appointed, as the premier minister under him, Prince George Adam Starhemberg; who, although he had formerly been successful as a diplomatist, showed himself in the Netherlands to be a man too indolent for any sort of business, and was entirely swayed by his passion for gambling.

Starhemberg's factotum was the Chancellor von Crumpipen. The father of this man had been valet, and afterwards secretary to Visconti*, the viceroy of Naples, during the time of the occupation of that country by Austria. The son then became secretary of state there. When Austria lost Naples, the young man was transferred as cabinet secretary to Brussels, where his staid appearance gained for him the good opinion of Starhemberg, in whose confidence he gained the more ground, the more skilfully he knew how to flatter his ruling passion. Crumpipen soon became the real master, and his will was law. The more firmly to establish his own power, he raised his relations, friends, and creatures to the most important places in every branch of the administration.

* When Crumpipen the younger was at the height of his power in the Netherlands, he once received, as a new-year's present, a box, containing a "straw man," dressed in the *Visconti livery*, as a gentle reminder of the high and mighty chancellor's descent.

In 1781, the Emperor Joseph went to the Netherlands, where no prince since Philip II. had appeared in person. He inquired after the truth; but he could nowhere get at it. Crumpipen, to set his ignorant chief Starhemberg adrift, feigned illness; and when the Emperor paid him a visit, the pretended invalid complained bitterly that everything lay upon his shoulders, and that he had not a man who was able to support him. He therefore begged the Emperor to adjoin to him Baron von Reuss: but he was sly enough to conceal from the Emperor that he owed to this gentleman a great part of his knowledge of business; for in fact Crumpipen was a great adept in the art of consulting able men, and then passing off their wisdom as his own. This intrigue was completely successful. Starhemberg, whose incapacity Joseph could not but see himself, was recalled, and afterwards appointed lord steward in Vienna.

After the death of Charles of Lorraine in 1781, Joseph conferred the government of the Netherlands upon his sister the Archduchess Christina; who was to hold it jointly with her husband Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen. Count Louis Belgiojoso, formerly ambassador in London, became their premier. Belgiojoso was a clever and industrious man, of much adroitness and energy. He was full of zeal to carry out as speedily as possible Joseph's plans in the Netherlands; and tried to gain over Baron von Reuss, of whose experience and knowledge he wished to avail himself. As soon as Crumpipen saw this, he took his measures for preserving his own power; and in the meanwhile planned his revenge. He again feigned illness, and went to take the waters at Aix-la-Chapelle; thus leaving Belgiojoso and Reuss alone to incur the odium of the plans of reform, whilst he retained to himself the love of the nation. With the archduchess and her husband he insinuated himself by a particularly clever intrigue. He represented to them that, if the Emperor's plans were

carried out, their power was done for; that therefore they had better become naturalised in the Netherlands, and apply to be likewise made members of the House of the States of Brabant, as in that case the Emperor could never abate any of their prerogatives without rousing the whole of the native nobility. Thus Crumpipen raised enemies to Joseph even in the Emperor's own family. He at last succeeded in overthrowing Belgiojoso; just as he had served Starhemberg before. And so blind was Joseph to the real character of the man, that he made him vice-president of the newly-established Royal Council of Regency.

Belgium was as firmly attached to its own constitution as the Hungarians were to theirs. At the head of the administration, there were corporations consisting of the very wealthy nobility, the large cities, and the exceedingly powerful clergy. There was a different constitution in each of the seven provinces of which Belgium was still composed after the separation of Holland and the French conquests. These provinces were, the greater part of Brabant, Luxemburg, and Limburg; and part of Flanders, Hainault, Namur, and Guelders. Brabant was the most important province; here was the capital of the whole country, Brussels, and also the archsee of Mechlin, and the principal university, Louvain. In Flanders, the nobility sent no members to the representative body, nor did the clergy in Guelders; in other respects, the clergy was in possession of the most comprehensive political as well as moral influence and power. An archbishop and seven bishops stood at the head of the hierarchy, which was opposed to any modern form of monarchical government, and which held sway over a hundred richly endowed abbeys and an immense number of monasteries and convents. The value of their landed property was estimated by the States of Brabant themselves at 300,000,000 florins. The independent and rich University of Louvain was a most powerful prop of the clergy. There a theology and

an ecclesiastical law was taught, which might have satisfied the most zealously ultramontane hierarchy; but which was in direct opposition to the modern monarchical levelling tendencies of Joseph.

Joseph had a heartfelt contempt for the civic narrow-mindedness and the shopkeeper's spirit which was rife in the Netherlands, where an utter indifference to every high interest of mankind pervaded all classes of society. When Joseph attempted to free the Belgian commerce from the trammels to which the closing of the Scheldt subjected it, he met with no sympathy from the Estates; the only interest in the matter being shown by those of Brabant, *who complained of the high prices of herrings and oysters.* But Belgium was eminently a Popish country; as in Hungary the nobility, so in Belgium the clergy reigned paramount. Maria Theresa had been universally popular with her Netherlandish subjects, because she allowed the priests to have their way, and because she left the chartered liberties of the Church untouched. As soon, however, as Joseph attempted to effect his reforms, the influence of the clergy threw difficulties in his way. The first troubles were of their making. The heads of the church party were Cardinal Frankenberg, Archbishop of Mechlin, and the Papal Nuncio at Brussels, Zondandari. The beginning was a student's riot at the University of Louvain, on the 5th of December, 1786. There, as in the other provinces of the monarchy, Joseph had established a "General Seminary," recommending all the aspirants to the clerical office to study there. The superintendence of these schools he had taken away from the bishops, and had entrusted to other ecclesiastics; wishing, as he wrote, "the children of Levi no longer to have the monopoly of forming the human understanding." The General Seminary at Brussels was opened on the 16th of October, 1786. It was of course looked upon with horror by the ultramontane clergy, with Frankenberg and Zondandari at

their head. The riot of the students was a demonstration against this new school. The young people of the noble families of the country presented a petition to the government of rather a frivolous character, the purport of which was, "Better beer, tobacco, and bread, and an orthodox theology and discipline." This boyish freak the government was foolish enough to treat as a most serious matter, and to put it down — although without bloodshed —by Imperial troops. Frankenberg was summoned to Vienna, and the Papal Nuncio, in February, 1787, was banished the Imperial dominions; he did not, however, go far, but merely retired to the neighbouring Liége.

In 1787, just when Joseph had gone to the Crimea, a new system of political and legal administration was to be introduced in Belgium. On the 19th of April, the States of Brabant refused to grant the usual subsidies until the Royal Council of Regency,—which Joseph had arbitrarily established in place of the old council of Brabant,—the new lord lieutenants of the provinces, and the new courts of law were done away with. According to the fifty-ninth article of the old charter of Brabant*, called the "*Joyeuse Entrée*," the Netherlanders were allowed, "if the prince in any way trespassed against his obligations, not to be 'obeissans en aucune chose de son besoin.'" Now the Emperor, in violation of the seventeenth article of that same charter, had caused John Francis Hondt, a merchant, to be taken out of the country to Vienna, there to be tried for defalcations of public money. The trade guilds of Brussels, Antwerp, and Louvain at once memorialised the Estates, setting forth that the constitution had been violated. The Estates applied to the governor-general, demanding a restoration of all the suppressed monasteries and convents, religious communities, and pro-

* Granted by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in the fifteenth century.

cessions. The populace, in the meanwhile, broke the windows of the minister Belgiojoso, who had been most active in carrying out Joseph's plans of reform. The governor-general, the rather insignificant Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, whom Crumpipen had led astray, so that —as is evident from a letter lately published—he sympathised with the people against the Emperor, and who therefore had got into a violent conflict with Belgiojoso; gave to the Estates the declaration which they had demanded, that all and everything which was contrary to the "*Joyeuse Entrée*" should be abrogated. This answer he gave on the very same day that he was applied to; on the 30th of May, at eleven o'clock in the evening. On the following day, the whole city of Brussels was illuminated; 600 young men harnessed themselves to the carriage of the Duke and his wife, and drew it into the playhouse among triumphant shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur! Vive la Joyeuse Entrée!*"

The agitation, however, still continued. On the night of the 6th of June, a tumult broke out at Antwerp, owing to a rumour having been set on foot that the late Imperial lord-lieutenant was holding nightly meetings in one of the suppressed monasteries. Another tumult at Mechlin followed. A number of seditious pamphlets and libels were circulated among the people. At Brussels, it was therefore deemed necessary to establish a body of volunteers and burgher-patrols; and this example was followed by the other towns. On the 22nd of June, the Estates sent a memorial stating their grievances direct to the Emperor, who had just left the Crimea. By the advice of old Kaunitz, he answered, on the 3rd of July, "that he would attribute all that had happened only to misinterpretation of his intentions and to misunderstandings, fostered and circulated by persons who had nothing to lose and who cared more for their own interest than for the welfare of the public." He then declared to them "that he would allow

all the new measures to be suspended, until the governors-general and the deputies had arrived at Vienna, where he would come to an agreement with them concerning the steps to be taken for the public good, according to the fundamental principles of the law of the country."

In consequence of this decree, Duke Albert and the Archduchess Christina, with the minister Belgiojoso, arrived at Vienna on the 31st of July; and on the 15th of August, thirty Netherlandish deputies, from all the provinces, and taken from the three orders—the clergy, nobles, and burghers. General Count Murray was in the meanwhile left behind at Brussels as governor-general, captain-general, and minister plenipotentiary. Before the deputies were back to their homes, 50,000 men, Austrian and Hungarian troops, set out to march to the Netherlands. They, however, stopped at the western frontier of the Swabian provinces of Austria, and one regiment only continued its march to Luxemburg. The troops already in the Netherlands were concentrated in the neighbourhood of Brussels. On the 23rd of August, a courier came to General Murray, with directions that, until further orders, all should be again placed on the *status quo* of the 1st of April of the current year; the Estates should pay the subsidies; the burgher companies and volunteers should disperse, and all illicit associations should be suppressed. But the burgher companies did not disperse. On the 20th of September, new disturbances arose at Brussels and Mechlin. In the former place, the Imperial proclamations were torn down; in the latter, the military were insulted. Murray, instead of demanding satisfaction, was weak enough to yield in all points, just as Duke Albert had done. On the 21st of September, he announced, in the name of the Emperor, that he would keep the "*Joyeuse Entrée*" inviolate. Brussels was again illuminated; in October, a new minister and a new general arrived. The minister was Count

Ferdinand von Trautmannsdorf*; and the general, Count Richard d'Alton. Trautmannsdorf was an easy-tempered diplomatist of polished manners; D'Alton, a brutal military tyrant. At last, on the 13th of January, 1788, the governors-general, Duke Albert and his wife, returned. It was hoped that the storm was now allayed. Joseph, who shared this hope, had written as far back as September, 1787, a letter to Trautmannsdorf, which is so much the more remarkable as in it Joseph honestly confesses that the revolutionary movements in Europe were in a great measure owing to that very philosophy of philanthropism of which he himself was a disciple. It is true that he was its declared adversary as far as it was favourable to democratic ideas. He laid open his political creed on his first stay in Paris, in a company in which the American Congress was spoken of with the highest praise. He was asked his opinion of it. Joseph at that time answered: "Well, I must confess that I am royalist by profession" (Je suis par métier royaliste).

That letter to Trautmannsdorf concluded with the following words: "Oh! that all who have it in their power to influence the tone of the people, would inculcate to the subjects that most of the revolutions are but the result of the ambition of a few, who use the people as the tools of their own purposes; and that the successful issue of a revolution has to be bought with streams of citizens' blood.

"The events which happened in the Austrian Netherlands have caused me many bitter moments, and this people will never regain the affection which I felt for it."

* He was made a prince in 1806, became lord steward in 1807, and died in 1827.

8. THE TURKISH WAR IN 1788.

JOSEPH had a very strong interest in the speedy restoration of tranquillity in the Netherlands. War with the Turks was impending. Unjust and impolitic as this war was, Joseph's enthusiasm urged him on to it. Whilst returning from the Crimea, he wrote from Lemberg to Kaunitz, "The advantages which Russia derives from the acquisition of the Crimea are of the greatest importance to her. She may reduce the Osmanlis, after the destruction of their armed power, to extremities; she may make Stamboul tremble; and thus she opens the way to Paros and the Hellespont, *which, however, I must forestall on the side of Rumelia.*" The object was then an acquisition of territory in this last quarter. But Joseph had overlooked the fact that Russia derived by far greater advantage from the assistance of Austria than Austria could derive from Russia. It was indeed a very ill-judged policy to allow the Northern Empire to spread in the south at the expense of Turkey.* Frederic the Great had much more correctly appreciated the facts of the case, and most decidedly refused any co-operation in the Russian projects.

The Sublime Porte having declared war against Russia on the 24th of August, 1787, the Austrian Internuncio undertook to mediate; but, when his endeavours proved unsuccessful, Joseph also declared war on the 9th of February, 1788. An army of 200,000 men, with 2,000 cannon, at once set out; marching in six different divisions to the Turkish frontiers. The main body of the army, under the command of Lascy, assembled in the vicinity of Semlin, near Belgrade. On the 29th of February, the Emperor, after having entrusted the government to

* This part of the German original was published in 1852.

Prince Kaunitz, departed from Vienna, and arrived on the 14th of March at Semlin. Some time before, he had declined in a friendly letter the mediation offered by Frederic William II. of Prussia. The letter is of January, 1788.

"My good brother*,

"I am truly very much pained at being obliged to decline your Majesty's offer of mediation with regard to my differences with the Sublime Porte. I have drawn my sword, nor will I sheathe it again until I have had my satisfaction by getting back what has been taken from my house.

"Your Majesty is a monarch, and as such you are not unacquainted with the rights of kings. And is the undertaking against the Osmanlis anything else but an attempt to reclaim for my house some provinces which time, fate, and destiny have robbed from my crown?

"The Turks, and perhaps not they alone, entertain the principle of always trying to win back at the first favourable opportunity what they have lost in times of adverse fortune; this is what is called letting fate have its way, and submitting to the dispensations of Providence.

"The house of Hohenzollern has in the same manner reached the height of its greatness. Albert of Brandenburg alienated from his order the duchy of Prussia, and his successors, in the Peace of Oliva, even maintained the sovereignty over that country. The late uncle of your Majesty snatched Silesia from my mother at a time when, surrounded by enemies on all sides, she had no other protection but the greatness of her soul and the fidelity of her people.

"What have the courts who so loudly sound the trumpet about the balance of power in Europe —— what have

* Mein Herr Bruder—Monsieur mon Frère.

they given to the House of Austria as an equivalent even of the possessions which it has lost in this century only?

"My ancestors had, in the Peace of Utrecht, to give up to their neighbours, Spain; in that of Vienna, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; some years after, Belgrade and the Silesian Principalities; in the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Parma, Placentia, Guastalla; and even before that, Tortona and part of Austrian Lombardy.

"Has Austria, during this century, in exchange for these losses made any other acquisition worth mentioning? A part of the kingdom of Poland: well, as to that, Prussia has had a better share of it than myself. I hope that your Majesty will find the reasons for my resolution of making war with the Turks to be self-evident; that you will not deny the justice of my claims; and that you will not the less be my friend, although I should dress up the Moslems after a new fashion.

"Your Majesty may be certain, that on similar occasions I will allow you to employ the same means of recovering losses against myself; and that for some years to come, all attempts at mediation had better rest.

"I recommend myself to the continuance of your friendship; and am, with much esteem,

"Your Majesty's

"Friend and good brother,

"JOSEPH."

But the great expectations which Joseph entertained of the Turkish war, were not fulfilled. The numerous army spread in an immense line from the Adriatic to the Bukowina. When near Choczim (Chotym), it joined the Russians. Nothing of any consequence happened beyond the taking of some border fortresses. The summer was uncommonly hot. Owing to this and the malaria in the country between the Danube and the Save, epidemics broke out which cost the Austrians not less than 33,000

men. Joseph gave his army the most heroic example in bearing up with all sorts of hardships and privations. Except the water of Schönbrunn, which was carried after him down the Danube as far as Semlin, and a glass of Austrian or Tokay wine, which the physicians all but forced upon him; he had nothing but what fell to the lot of the common soldier. He shared all the toils and dangers of the campaign. At the taking of the fortress of Sabacz, three gunners were shot by his side. In the camp also, he continued to manage the business of the Empire. He often sat in the silent hour of midnight, at a small table, engaged in reading voluminous piles of papers, which, by his express orders, all the chiefs of the departments at Vienna had to send after him to the camp. Even on the night preceding the taking of Sabacz, he wrote despatches in the wood in the open air. At Semlin, he put up at a mean tavern in a suburb, his quarters consisting of three miserable rooms. But he watched with the kindest care over the sanitary condition of the army; had huts built in the camp for the accommodation of the sick; caused wells to be dug, and ordered vinegar to be distributed to the soldiers as a preservative against infection.

On the 7th of August, the Turks crossed the Danube near Orsova and Kladowa, and entered the Banat of Temeswar. The Imperial troops had to retreat incessantly; the Turks sabred whole squadrons of the Austrian rear. For three months, the Turkish troops overran that beautiful country, which they changed into a desert. The Imperial armies had to retreat as far as Temeswar. The most terrible night was that of the 28th of September, 1788, when 80,000 Imperialists retreated to the plain of Lugos. Some hussars quarrelled near a brandy cart with a party of soldiers of the Free Corps, and drove them from the spot. These men returned; fired at the hussars; and called out in a loud voice, "Turks! Turks!" This false alarm caused incredible confusion. The Austrian troops fired on their

own rear, which they mistook for the assailing Turks. Lascy had forgotten to call in the pickets on the left wing. In order to wait for them, the word of command, "Halt!" was given. But the terrified troops mistook in their fright "Halt, Halt!" for the Turkish cry of "Allah! Allah!" and, instead of stopping, fled in a panic. Joseph, who was with the van, tried to stay the flight near a small bridge; but his open calêche was overturned in the confusion, and thrown from the bridge into the river. Joseph now leaped on a horse; but was carried away unknown by the flying crowd. He had lost his suite, and knew not where he was. Fortunately a groom recognised him. This man saved him, and Joseph arrived with him alone at Karansebes. He had been in danger of being taken prisoner by the Turks; who had faithless Wallachians for their guides. *The army was demoralised by the noble officers;* the disaffection towards the Emperor which the nobles and the clergy had excited against him, had now gained ground among the military also. The train fell into irremediable confusion. The drivers of the artillery cut the traces of their horses, and left the cannon behind on the road. The leaders of the sumpter-horses threw the packs away, and rode off on the disburdened animals with wild cries of, "The Turks are coming; all is lost; save yourselves!" The soldiers who escorted the baggage, fired upon their own people among the train, and increased the hopeless disorder. The road was covered all over with baggage, arms, and warlike stores of every description, between which men on foot, on horseback, and in carriages were pushing on, shouting, swearing, and overthrowing everything that came in their way. As many as 10,000 men were wounded or killed in this false alarm.

After this terrible night, the Emperor remained at the seat of the war until November, preparing for a second campaign. But his constitution broke under the hardships. With the seeds of death in him, he returned, on

the 5th of December, to Vienna, ill and out of spirits. Yet, unfortunate as the first campaign had been, Joseph still entertained the most sanguine hopes of the second. In January, 1789, he wrote to the Russian general, Prince Charles of Nassau: "The task of the German army in the spring of 1789, will be, to take Bender and to march along the left bank of the Danube. On the right side of that river, I shall reduce Belgrade and overrun Servia. The taking of Nissa, Widdin, Serajo, and higher up the Save, of Berbir, Banjaluka, and Castanowicz, will be accomplished by the beginning of August. If the Grand Vizier should come to meet me or the Russians near the Danube, he must offer a battle; and then, after having defeated him, I shall drive him back to take refuge under the cannon of Silistria.

"In October, 1789, I shall call a congress, at which the Osmanlis will be obliged to beg for peace from the Giaours. The treaties of Carlowitz and Passarowitz will serve as the basis for my ambassadors on which to conclude peace; *in it, however, I shall claim Choczim and part of Moldavia.* Russia will keep the Crimea, Prince Charles of Sweden will be Duke of Courland, and the Grand-duke of Florence King of the Romans.

"*Then there will be a universal peace in Europe.* Until then, France will have settled affairs with the notables of the nation; and the other gentlemen think too much about themselves and too little about Austria."

But the year 1789, of which Joseph had formed such sanguine hopes, ushered in an epoch of revolution and of wars which lasted for a quarter of a century. For himself that year became the last of his life, and was fraught with the severest sufferings of body and mind.

Joseph's health had been shaken for several years by the exertions to which he unsparingly gave himself up. The man who had formerly been so vigorous and healthy; showed the most unmistakeable signs of rapidly failing

strength. His eyes became weak and watery; he had sore legs; erysipelas in the head had obliged him, even as far back as 1783, to wear a wig; whilst before that he wore his beautiful fair hair, which gradually had assumed an auburn tinge, with a short *toupée* and two simple curls and a pigtail. His complexion, once so clear, was now of a reddish-brown hue; the smallpox marks looked as if deepened, and his hanging cheeks added to the length of his face. The Hungarian campaign had prostrated him. He caught a slow Hungarian fever; besides which, he suffered from the consequences of an indiscretion into which his sensual temperament had betrayed him. The principal malady—as his body physician Quarin designates it in his medical works, written in Latin—was a disease of the lungs, the seeds of which Joseph had long carried within him. Quarin does not lift the veil as to the question whether this disease was constitutional, or whether it was induced by sensual excesses and hazardous cures. It was asserted at the time, that some of the people about Joseph had put in his way women of the town, dressed as peasant girls and as haymakers in the park of Schönbrunn.

After his return to Vienna, Joseph was constantly ailing; he had a difficulty of breathing, palpitation of the heart, and spasms of the chest. There could no longer be any question of joining the new Turkish campaign; the physicians energetically opposed it, and enjoined him as a duty to take the utmost care of himself. Little as Joseph generally liked doctors, this time he felt that he must obey them. Yet, notwithstanding his illness, he would not spare himself, but plunged with his usual restless activity into public business; telling the physicians that it was impossible for him to be quiet without occupation. In the night of the 13th of April, 1789, he vomited blood; had fainting fits; and even prepared for death. In the court chapel the host was exhibited; prayers were ordered to be offered in all the churches; and on the 16th of April, the

Emperor received the sacrament. But he rallied once more; and on the 28th, again showed himself on the balcony of his windows in the Hofburg. In May, he removed to the villa of Laxenburg. Here he grew much better, so much so as even to enjoy a concert, in which he himself performed; besides which, he drove in the park, rode out several times on horseback, and was every day seen walking about. He drank asses' milk and took bark. His fare was exceedingly simple; soup of sago, a little made dish of vegetables, the wing of a fowl, and, in the evening, beef-tea, was all that he took. His labours in the cabinet went on uninterruptedly, whatever his physicians might say against it. Laxenburg being inundated in August, he went to Hetzendorf; very often drove in the morning to the garden of Schönbrunn; walked about there with his usual impetuosity, and seemed completely recovered. But it was only in appearance. He grew thinner and thinner, and soon was reduced to mere skin and bone; he lost his voice, and the least exertion tired him. In the beginning of October, he returned to the Hofburg; and on fine days, very often showed himself in the Augarten, in the Prater, and in the streets.

The second Turkish campaign was more successful than the first. From a feeling of jealous ambition, Joseph had the year before abstained from placing at the head of his army the great General Loudon, whom he was candid enough to call, in a letter to the Prince of Nassau, "the most celebrated marshal of Europe." He wished to earn the laurels himself; and for this reason took the chief command of the army, with Lascy as his second. But Joseph, although personally brave and afraid of no hardship or danger, was not born to be a general. He had not the cool, quiet, and sure eye in the battle, nor the presence of mind and speedy resolution to seize the lucky moment in decisive operations. Lascy, on whose support he principally relied, had by no means answered his expectations; he was

an excellent chief of the staff, but no general, and was therefore replaced by old General Haddik. Thus Field-marshal Loudon had at first been left quite unemployed. Taciturn, unpretending, and shy, he was not the man to push himself forward. He did not even live at Vienna, as indeed neither his education nor his manners fitted him for the society of the high world; but he lived in retirement at his country seat of Hadersdorf. When, however, the campaign of 1788 took such an unfortunate turn, and the public voice called out for Loudon, the Emperor summoned him to the seat of war; but conferred on him only a separate command in Croatia. At last, when Haddik fell ill, Joseph offered to Loudon, in the autumn of 1789, the chief command; entrusting to him the expedition against Belgrade with unlimited powers. Loudon concentrated all his forces before Belgrade by the 13th of September; and on the 9th of October, the Turks — who used to call Loudon "the German devil" — surrendered the fortress on a capitulation. The joy in Vienna was indescribable; the public rejoicings lasted for three days. On the 14th of October, a grand *Te Deum* of Haydn's composition was executed at St. Stephen's Cathedral by an orchestra of nearly 200 performers. Joseph himself was on this occasion dressed with a magnificence which had never been seen in him before. He unfastened with his own hand the diamond star of the order of Maria Theresa of the value of 24,000 ducats, which the Grand-master alone used to wear; and sent it to Loudon, on whom at the same time he conferred the title of generalissimo, which no commander except Wallenstein, Montecuculi, and Prince Eugene had borne. Joseph's successor was at least able to conclude, through Baron Herbert, the Peace of Szistowa, on the *status quo* of 1791. Neither Joseph nor Loudon lived to see the end of the war. The Emperor died first, and soon after him the general.

9. THE RISING OF THE NETHERLANDS UNDER VAN DER NOOT, 1788-1789. — REPEAL OF THE HUNGARIAN REFORMS.

THE taking of Belgrade was the last glimmer of good fortune for Joseph. The evening of his life was gloomy and sad. The storm which was thought to have been allayed in the Netherlands, came to a terrible outbreak.

During the year 1788, whilst the Emperor was absent on the Turkish campaign, Count Trautmannsdorf had succeeded, by means of a policy of reconciliation, in keeping the Netherlands quiet. The Emperor had written on the 8th of October, 1787, a letter with instructions, in which it was said, among other things, "one ought to have patience, hear all, and speak with many; but one should be firm, and not allow oneself to be cowed." Trautmannsdorf acted strictly up to this instruction. D'Alton, however, followed his own counsel; the consequence of which was, that on the 22nd of January, 1788, the first blood was shed at Brussels, where the troops fired on the people at a riot got up by Van der Noot; who afterwards became the leader of the insurrection. The armed burgher companies were kept down by the military superiority of the regular troops; and the episcopal seminaries were shut up by the same violent means: which caused other bloody riots at Mechlin and Antwerp. Van der Noot and his party turned the "Massacre de Malines," at which a woman had been wounded, to very good account indeed. The most dangerous enemy of the Emperor in the Netherlands, was still the bigoted cardinal, Archbishop Frankenberg of Mechlin. On the 10th of March, 1788, the Imperial General Seminary at Louvain was to have been re-opened; but as Frankenberg had stamped the text books of the new Imperial professors as heretical, there were no hearers to attend their lectures. Frankenberg was now directed to attend in person at the theological

lectures of the General Seminary, and to examine into their orthodoxy. As Frankenberg, under the plea of other business, declined to do so, Trautmannsdorf suggested to him that he had better resign his archsee. Upon this, the cardinal at last, on the 8th of March, 1789, came to Louvain; but repeated his charge of heresy against the professors of the Imperial Seminary. The towns were just as refractory; they refused to grant the Emperor new subsidies. Joseph then declared that, in that case, he would no longer hold himself bound to maintain their privileges. The Estates of some provinces then made their submission; even the two first Estates of Brabant, the nobility and clergy, sent hypocritical declarations of loyalty to Vienna: but the towns of Brabant offered an obstinate resistance. The term of the granted subsidies having expired on the 18th of June, the anniversary of Collin, Trautmannsdorf declared the "*Joyeuse Entrée*" abolished; the taxes should, in the meanwhile, remain permanent. The victory seemed gained over the people, and the captain-general D'Alton thus expressed himself, "On the glorious anniversary of Collin, the Emperor has also become master of the Netherlands." But things turned out very differently.

On the 14th of July, the French Revolution began with the taking of the Bastile at Paris. A few days after, a large number of bills were circulated in the Netherlands, with the words inscribed on them, "Ici comme à Paris!" At Tirlemont, a dangerous riot broke out on the 27th of July, owing to the arrest of some partisan of revolutionary principles: 5000 men collected, liberated the prisoner, and compelled the garrison to retire. Public chests were plundered, houses demolished, men wounded and murdered. At Louvain and Diest, at Namur, Laeeken, and Brussels, similar tumults followed. D'Alton advised the most unrelenting severity; but Trautmannsdorf spoiled everything. He played a double game: on the one hand, he published threatening orders, and made a great ado;

but, on the other hand, he secretly supported the Belgium aristocrats, with whom he sympathised, as belonging to the same class as himself. This is most distinctly proved in the Memoirs of Baron Ropedius Von Berg*, himself one of the most influential public functionaries of Joseph in Belgium. Trautmannsdorf, after having issued a most threatening proclamation, had now the unfortunate idea of yielding again. To propitiate the clergy, he reinstated, on the 14th of August, the University of Louvain and the Episcopal Seminary in their old rights. But the revolutionary party would no longer be pacified. About the end of August, the emigrations began. A "patriotic army" gathered together on the frontiers of Holland; a "patriotic committee" sat at Breda. The insurrection was headed by Van der Noot.

Van der Noot was an advocate of Brussels, an underbred, vulgar, coarse pettifogger, who had set on foot negotiations at the Hague, in Berlin, and in London. He was joined by an ecclesiastic, Van Eupen, a canon of Antwerp; and by Van der Mersch, formerly an officer in the Austrian army. Authentic documents communicated by Van der Spiegel† give undeniable evidence that the governments of Holland and Prussia did not hesitate to enter with a man like Van der Noot into transactions against Joseph, and against "the dreaded power of Austria." This happened two years before the conservative monarchical policy of the cabinets began the crusade against revolutionary France; and at the very time when Joseph sacrificed himself in averting one of the greatest European dangers, the establishment of the Russian power in Constantinople; when, as the ally of Catherine, he was anxious to confine the cession of territory, which Turkey was to

* Edited by M. Gérard, and published at Brussels in 1842.

† Resumé des Négociations qui accompagnèrent la Revolution des Pays-Bas, Amsterdam, 1841.

have made to Russia and Austria, to reasonable limits. It happened at a time when he hugged himself in the idea of working for the universal peace of Europe.

As soon as the insurrection was being organised, D'Alton placed the Imperial troops — five regiments of infantry and a regiment of horse — on a war footing; and caused them to make flying expeditions to the frontiers of Holland and Liége. The patriots, a motley rabble, partly contemptible and partly ridiculous, were soon dispersed and driven out of the country. On the 20th of October, the burghers of Brussels and the country people had to give up their arms, and a number of suspicious persons were arrested.

Seven days after the general rebellion broke out, Van der Noot — who, as is now authentically proved by Baron von Berg's Memoirs, was with his agents paid from the proceeds of those very taxes which the Estates had refused to the Emperor — issued a manifesto, in which he declared Brabant an independent country, spoke of the Emperor as having forfeited his ducal rights, and styled himself "the Plenipotentiary of the People of Brabant." Austria demanded of the States of Holland the giving up of Van der Noot; but they declined. By the side of Van der Noot, who represented the views and claims of the privileged aristocracy, another advocate, Vonk, had a great party. He was the representative of the moderate liberals among the people. These two men made common cause for the present, and called Brabant to arms against the foreigner. The army of the "patriots" amounted by this time to 10,000 men. Their main strength was in Flanders. Here the monks of the suppressed convents armed themselves with sabre and musket, and slung the cartridge-box over their shoulders. The convent gardens were changed into so many drill grounds for these bands of holy warriors. To Flanders also the abbots fled with the treasures and the chests of their churches. All the principal towns of that province, Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend, opened their gates

to the insurgents; the feeble garrisons were obliged to lay down their arms or to march off. The Imperial soldiers, yielding to the liberal bribes of the rebels, deserted their colours, and went over to the army of the patriots. On the 18th of November, the governors-general and the principal nobles and functionaries left Brussels. Once more did Trautmannsdorf try to put down the rebellion by compliance; promising the restoration of the *Joyeuse Entrée*, the abolition of the Imperial Seminary, and a general amnesty. Van der Mersch replied by invading Brabant, taking Diest and Tirlemont, and threatening Louvain. D'Alton had no choice left but to conclude an armistice; in the meanwhile, an amicable arrangement was to be attempted. On the 7th of December, riots broke out at Brussels, and lasted till the 12th. The troops of the government went over in crowds to the people. On the 10th, after matins, numbers of young men made their appearance with revolutionary cockades, and the cry of "Long live Van der Noot and the patriots." With this, the insurrection became general. The guard post at the gates and two companies of the Murray regiment went over. By an order of Trautmannsdorf, the disarmed burghers had now their arms restored to them, in order that they might assist in restoring tranquillity. It was in vain. D'Alton, on the 11th, made his troops charge the people; but he was not able to carry the day. The Imperial soldiers were shot at from the windows, and had to retreat to the upper town. On the 12th, D'Alton capitulated; and that in such haste as to leave behind the military chests, with three million florins. He was allowed to march off with colours flying and drums beating; and retired with Trautmannsdorf and the government to the fortress of Luxemburg. Being summoned to appear before a court-martial at Vienna, he took poison, of which he died at Treves four days before his patron Joseph. General Blasius Columbanus Bender, a dwarfish and very

old Swabian, but a brave soldier, who had fought near Belgrade, took the command of the remnant of D'Alton's army. Trautmannsdorf was replaced by Count George Metternich, the father of the celebrated states-chancellor. Soon afterwards the cities of Louvain, Mechlin, Antwerp, and Namur likewise joined the patriots. On the 14th of December, Van der Mersch; and on the 17th of the same month, Van der Noot, with the other chiefs of the patriot committee of Breda, made their solemn entry into Brussels.

The news of this series of distressing events in the Netherlands, one after the other, reached Joseph towards the close of that same year which he had hailed as the harbinger of universal peace to Europe. He considered it as a disgrace to have had his good intentions thus misinterpreted. He felt unspeakable sadness at the thought of it; and ever since the month of December, when Brussels was lost to him, the state of his health rapidly grew worse; his strength failed him more and more, sleeplessness set in; he spat blood, had a dry consumptive cough, and frequent swooning fits. Joseph, suspecting that his end was fast approaching, on the 5th of February, 1790, put the question direct to his honest, straightforward physician Quarin: "I am not afraid," he said, "of death, and you may speak out freely; but it would not be for the good of my state, if I were surprised." When Quarin with deep emotion said to him, "We cannot answer for one moment;" Joseph replied, "I thank you, my dear Quarin, for this proof of your friendship; I shall show myself grateful." Quarin received a present of 10,000 florins and the patent of a baron. Joseph now prepared to make his peace with the world before he died. The celebrated Prince Charles de Ligne, a native of Belgium, came to see him. The Emperor said to him: "Your country has killed me; the taking of Ghent is my agony, the evacuation of Brussels is my death. What a disgrace

this is for me! what a shame! *I die; I must be made of wood if I did not.* Go to the Netherlands; make them return to their allegiance. If you do not succeed in the attempt, remain there. Do not sacrifice your fortune for me, you have children." Count Philip Cobenzl went as Joseph's commissary to the Netherlands, to make a last attempt at reconciliation. But when he reached the frontier, the whole country, with the exception of Luxemburg, was already in the hands of the patriots. On the 7th of January, the General Assembly of the United Belgian Provinces had been opened; on which occasion, Cardinal Frankenberg exercised the functions of president; Van der Noot, those of minister; and Van Eupen, those of secretary of state of the new government. England, Prussia, and Holland were publicly spoken of as the guarantees of the republic. It was these powers which, through their ministers Lord Auckland, Count Keller, and Van der Spiegel, had laid in the Netherlands the counter-mines against the Turkish projects of the Emperor. Cobenzl's proposals were rejected with contempt. And now Joseph, conquering his own proud heart, took a last extreme step. He applied to the Pope for help; begging him to use his influence with the Netherlandish clergy, who, as was only too evident, had been the real instigators of the revolution. Pius actually issued a brief to the Netherlandish bishops, in which he exhorted them to return to their allegiance to the Emperor. But Cardinal Frankenberg answered: "All that has been done, the nation was obliged to do for maintaining its rights. We can but submit to the new state of affairs; we must drive away the wolf from the fold, and banish from us the threatening fatal disease. Vouchsafe, therefore, Holy Father, to support our cause with those sovereigns, republics, and courts, which have already concluded their alliance with us, or will soon conclude it."

This was the last voice which the dying Emperor heard

from the revolutionised Netherlands; yet the farewell which Hungary took of him, was not less harsh and bitter. The Hungarians complained that, by the late measures of the Emperor, the value of landed property in Hungary had been deeply depressed;—they complained, moreover, of the introduction of the conscription, of the German language, of the foreign law, and of the new courts of justice.

The expenses of the first Turkish campaign having amounted to 60,000,000 florins, Joseph had been obliged to levy a new war tax, and to order, as a contribution in kind, a supply of corn for the army. Magnates as well as the lower nobles refused obedience; so that the government was driven to open the granaries by force. This gave the signal for open resistance. The Hungarians sent a deputation to the dying Emperor, by which immediate repeal of all the innovations was demanded, under threat of resorting to "the insurrection" if no redress were afforded. Joseph, broken down in body and spirit, now, for the sake of peace, resolved to deliver that remarkable Latin document which astounded the whole of Europe. On the 28th of January, 1790, he issued the "*Revocatio Ordinationum, quæ sensu communi legibus adversari videbantur,*" in which he revoked all his reforms in Hungary, except the Edict of Toleration, the decrees concerning serfdom, and those about a new division of parishes; at the same time, the restoration of the crown of St. Stephen was solemnly promised, and it was dispatched on the 18th of February, 1790, to Ofen, where it was received by the people with demonstrations of the most enthusiastic joy. Whilst its arrival at Ofen was hailed with a salute of 500 guns, Joseph lay a corpse in Vienna. They had now again their "ancient constitution,"—those high-born magnates,—concerning which the celebrated minister Stein, in 1811, wrote to Gentz: "*Has Hungary a constitution? A tumultuous Diet, the exemption of one class of the com-*

munity from all taxation, serfdom of three-fifths of the nation, in its crudest form; that is no constitution."

Whilst Joseph thus made his peace with the Hungarians, sad news came likewise from the Tyrol. This province also had become disaffected on account of the conscription and of the clerical reforms; and there too a general insurrection threatened to break out. Joseph yielded also to the Tyrolese; and dispatched a courier to Innsbruck, who carried orders to the authorities forthwith to place all again on the old footing.

10. THE LAST DAYS OF JOSEPH.

THUS Joseph did everything in his power to make his peace with the whole of his monarchy before he died, and to prevent the impending dissolution of the state. His situation was awful. At home, disaffection and rebellion; abroad, the war with the Porte, and one threatening from Prussia. Joseph was fast approaching his end. About the middle of February, 1790, he became weaker and weaker. The 12th was the birthday of his favourite nephew, the Archduke, afterwards Emperor Francis. He sent for him, and presented him with his sword, the hilt of which was of gold studded with diamonds; begging him to accept it in remembrance of his uncle, "who would soon be no more." On the 13th, Joseph with all solemnity received the holy sacrament. On the 14th, he took leave of Loudon and of Haddik. He said to Loudon, "Give me your dear old hand; I shall no more have the pleasure of shaking it;" then turning to Haddik, he said with a faltering voice, "Good bye, my dear Haddik; we now see each other for the last time in this world." When dismissing them, he handed to Haddik, as president of the Imperial Aulic Council of War (Hofkriegsrath), an order of the day for the army, in which he declared "That he would

not go down to his grave without giving his troops a public testimony of his love for them, and his entire satisfaction with their unshaken fidelity, bravery, and discipline." On the 15th, the Emperor received the sacrament of extreme unction. On the same day, he took leave of the wife of his nephew, Elizabeth of Würtemberg, who was in an advanced state of pregnancy. This princess, who enjoyed the respect and high esteem of every one who knew her, was of all the beings in this world the one whom Joseph loved most tenderly. She called him only "her papa." The interview was most heart-rending. Joseph, apprehending lest the ghastly paleness of his face and the alteration of his features might make too violent an impression on the princess, had caused his room to be darkened by blocking up all the windows; the only light was from a taper which stood at some distance from the bed. Scarcely had the archduchess entered, and the Emperor addressed her with a faltering voice, when she swooned, and had to be removed. On her return, Joseph, rallying all his strength, gave her his last blessing. Elizabeth was, on the morning of the 17th, seized with the first most severe pains of approaching labour. She suffered dreadfully until, at nine in the evening, she was delivered of a daughter. On the following morning, at half-past five, she was a corpse. The old lord chamberlain, Count Rosenberg, one of the Emperor's personal friends, had to impart this distressing news to him. On hearing it, Joseph called out in a paroxysm of the most intense grief, "Oh! Lord, thy will be done! What I suffer, no tongue can tell! I thought I was prepared to bear all the agony of death which the Lord would vouchsafe to lay upon me; but this dreadful calamity exceeds everything that I have suffered in this miserable world." He avowed that this was his death-blow; but he himself gave the necessary directions for the funeral, and ordered that the princess, who was laid out in state in the chapel of the palace, should

soon be taken to her final resting-place, "in order to make room for his own corpse." On this and on the following day, he made his last dispositions, leaving to his secretaries and servants, to many persons of the Imperial household, and to a great number of widows, legacies to the amount of half a million florins; he, moreover, arranged about some patents of promotion, and on the eve of the last day but one of his life signed no less than eighty dispatches, besides writing with a trembling hand some farewell notes to his dearest friends of both sexes. Even as late as on the 19th, he wrote in French to Kaunitz, who had condoled with him on the death of the Archduchess Elizabeth:—

"My dear friend,—I am most sensible to the kind expression of your sympathy; but what can I do except submit to the dispensations of Providence? As to yourself, I beg you to accept of the unqualified assurance of my highest esteem and sincerest confidence, which you deserve above all men. You may rest satisfied that I am infinitely pained at the thought that I am unable to profit any longer by your knowledge and experience. I embrace you, and recommend to you in these perilous times my country, which is so dear to my heart." It is remarkable with what delicacy the Emperor evades the mentioning of death, in order not to hurt the morbid feelings of the old prince, to whom the very word was terrible; whilst in all his other farewell letters which have become known to us Joseph frankly speaks of his approaching end.

About midday of the 19th of February, Joseph had a swooning fit; but he rallied again and retained his consciousness to the last hour of his life. He had for several weeks sat up during the day in a large easy-chair, or also walked about the room completely dressed, wearing a dress coat or a surtout, and boots. He was all the time incessantly engaged in dictating to his secretaries, and expediting and signing dispatches. Even as late as four o'clock he signed a document, but he spelled "Josepf"

instead of Joseph; on the day before he had eighty times written it quite correctly. In the evening he still accepted the visit of Lascy and Rosenberg. He also sent for the new-born princess, whom he took in his arms, with tears in his eyes, saying, "Thou beautiful child, true image of thy virtuous mother! But take her away, the hour of my dissolution is at hand!"

About ten at night he dismissed his secretaries; after which he remarked to the physicians—on account of the presence of servants—in Latin, "It will not last much longer; I already feel the agony of death within me." Then he ordered his confessor, an Augustine friar, to enter. His physician-in-ordinary, Von Störk, having offered to sit up with him for the night, Joseph kindly declined it, with the remark, "No, my dear friend, why should you be put to inconvenience? If I want you I will have you called. This night, for once, I shall remain alone with my black-robed gentleman!" Störk now withdrew to the ante-room, where he passed the night with Field-marshal Lascy, the master of the horse Dietrichstein, and the lord chamberlain Rosenberg. Joseph ordered the confessor to read to him the hymn of St. Ambrose; after the conclusion of which he prayed himself, "Oh Lord! who alone knowest my heart, I call Thee to witness that everything which I undertook and ordered was meant only for the happiness and welfare of my subjects. Thy will be done!"

He then dismissed his confessor, who joined the other persons in waiting in the ante-room. Joseph's condition until midnight was tolerably easy; he lay down on his bed, but his slumbers were broken, and his mind wandering in the intervals of his sleep. About midnight only, he felt his sight and hearing beginning to fail him. When the Imperial patient awoke about four in the morning of the 20th of February from a short slumber, Lascy, Dietrichstein, Rosenberg, and Störk came to him. "Ah, you

are here?" he said to them, and asked the physician to give him some restorative. Having partaken of some beef-tea, he soon felt very ill again. Störk, finding scarcely any more pulsation in the Emperor, alluded to the presence of the confessor in the ante-room. Joseph, taking the hint, made the holy man enter, and ordered him to read. When he came to the passage, "And now abideth faith, hope, charity," the Emperor spoke the word "faith," with a loud voice; "hope," he said low, but so that it could be understood; the word "charity," he repeated with the greatest fervour. Then he said to the confessor, "Now it is enough. I have no longer any use for this prayer-book. I give it to you; keep it in remembrance of me!" The last words which he said to his confessor were, "I beg you to pray, 'In thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!'" After this, he was heard saying to himself, "I believe I have done my duty as a man and a prince." He then turned on his side; drew his breath several times; and, after some struggles, which lasted a few minutes, expired at half-past five in the morning. The Archduke Francis and Counts Rosenberg and Dietrichstein were with him in his last moments.

On the day of his death, at seven in the evening, the Archduchess Elizabeth was buried. The Emperor had given orders that his body should not be opened, as his malady had been manifest, and nothing could be learned from an examination. He lay in his room, dressed in the white and scarlet uniform of a field-marshal, until the 22nd, when he was laid in state in the court chapel. At seven in the evening of that day, the body was taken from the Hofburg to the Capuchins, and then — after the usual benediction, and after the coffin was once more opened, so that every one present might convince himself of the Imperial corpse being in it — lowered into the family vault of the Austrian rulers.

Joseph had not yet completed his forty-ninth year when

he died. The epitome of his whole life he himself gave during his last days, in the words which he wished to be written on his grave: "Here rests a prince whose intentions were pure; but who had the misfortune of seeing all his plans miscarry." His worth was duly appreciated only after his death. The Viennese erected in the Joseph's Place his equestrian statue in bronze by Launer, on a granite pedestal, with the beautiful inscription suggested by Abbé Neumann: "*Josepho secundo, arduis nato, magnis perfuncto, majoribus præcepto, qui saluti publicæ vixit non diu, sed totus.*" The Prince de Ligne gave just as fine a testimony to his life and death in the following lines: —

> "Il entreprit beaucoup, et commençant toujours,
> Ne put rien achever, excepté ses beaux jours."

Without Joseph's reign, Austria would hardly have got over the revolution of 1789; "*and indeed*," Hormayr wrote just before the revolution of 1848, "*his memory rises every spring more powerfully from the grave.*" After the latter of these outbreaks, Count Ficquelmont, in his pamphlet on Lord Palmerston's policy, wrote as follows: "The events which have taken place in Austria since 1848, and the form which the revolution has taken, have given irrefragable evidence that, although the Emperor Joseph was wanting in prudence, yet he very correctly appreciated what the future of the Austrian state required. The last century of the German history has indeed clearly demonstrated that the ruler of Austria could only have found the means for the preservation of his throne, and for his exalted political position, in the unity of his Empire. The events in Gallicia, and in a higher degree those in Hungary, are the most eloquent apology for the political views of the Emperor Joseph. Although the Emperor may have been mistaken in the choice of the means which he employed, yet he certainly was quite correct in his

views concerning the necessity of tightening the bonds which unite that kingdom with the main body of the monarchy."

11. PERSONAL NOTICES OF JOSEPH. — HIS TWO MARRIAGES.

JOSEPH'S usual residence was in the first story of the Hofburg at Vienna, in the same wing as the large "Hall of Knights" (Rittersaal), where the ambassadors used generally to have their audiences. He inhabited three rooms overlooking the Bastei (Bastion, the Boulevards of Vienna). The first, his sleeping room, with the alcove where his bed stood, had green damask hangings with gilt mouldings: here hung the portrait of the Czarina Catharine II., dressed in red and gold brocade, a present from herself. Next was a cabinet painted green: here hung the portrait of the King of Prussia in a blue uniform, in the act of taking off his hat. This opened into the sitting-room, or rather his private writing-room, with the mechanical tables. The chancellerie of the cabinet was just underneath this sitting-room, and all the papers were raised by machinery through the floor to the side of the Emperor. In the fine season, Joseph's favourite residence was a small villa in the Augarten. It had three entrances. A flight of eight steps led to the front entrance, which opened into a prettily painted saloon, with its walls completely covered, in the fashion of the time, with coloured engravings, representing ruins and landscapes. The room on the left was long and narrow, with two large breeding-cages of canaries in the corners; and, on the walls between, a flower-stand, containing vases filled with a profusion of sweet flowers. From thence, on the right, there were two middle-sized rooms, hung with the finest chintz of a gay flowered pattern on a white ground; the sofa, chairs, bed, and toilette table, and even the floor were covered with the same material. In

the first story, to which a circular staircase led, the Emperor had another room, just above the saloon, with a particularly fine view of the Augarten, the Prater, and the bridge of the Danube. By the side of this simple villa, there were two aviaries. Sometimes Joseph inhabited, at the new palace at Laxenburg, the seven rooms forming a suite on the ground-floor. They were all painted *al fresco* with Indian and African scenes, and the floors were elegantly inlaid with precious woods; the chandeliers represented green branches. His bedroom was hung with flowered Persian chintz; the bed was of green damask; the chairs, of white satin with bright flowers embroidered in silk. Laxenburg, where he often might be seen kneeling at the village church in the midst of the peasantry, was another favourite residence of his. Schönbrunn, so much loved by his mother, he never inhabited for any length of time.

Joseph's mode of living was very simple; though his mother spent 6,000,000 florins, his own expenses only amounted to half a million. The order of the day was, "much work and little play." His daily routine was very regular. In summer, he rose about five; in winter, about six; he then left his bedroom at once, dressed hastily in an easy morning *negligé*, and without further delay sat down to work with two or three cabinet secretaries who had to be in readiness. His cabinet was the soul of the monarchy. It consisted of five secretaries and some copyists. As Joseph made the public offices send in to him every affair,—of however little importance,—for his decision, there was always plenty for the secretaries to do. They had a salary of 3000 florins, and there were among them men distinguished by talent, by their manners, and by their personal qualities; as, for instance, Günther.*

* This unfortunate man was cruelly treated by Joseph, although perfectly innocent; a highly talented Jewish young lady, Rahel Eskeles-Flies, with whom he was in love, being involved in his misfortune. The Emperor, deceived by an intercepted letter which had been intentionally

About nine o'clock, the Emperor took his breakfast,—in his early life, coffee with milk, and latterly chocolate. Breakfast over, he dressed for the day, generally attended by his friends, the lord chamberlain Count Rosenberg and Field-marshal Lascy; or by some other general officer, with whom he conversed. A valet dressed his hair, which was to be done very quickly. He always shaved himself; until his last illness in 1789, when some barber was called in from a shop, to whom he paid three sovereigns (*souverains d'or*), saying: "He is the first man who has laid his hand on my face." For his personal service, Joseph had four valets,—two of whom always alternately did duty,—one lacquey of the closet, and some body servants; one of these, Meyer, enjoyed his particular favour, and, shortly before the Emperor's death, was raised by him to the post of valet. Joseph was adored by his servants; he was always kind, and talked to them in his own humorous way.

Joseph's usual dress was a military uniform. In earlier years, he was clad in the blue Hungarian garb of his regiment of hussars; afterwards, he wore the white with red facings, of his regiment of infantry, or the green with red facings, of the Emperor's own regiment of Chevaux-légers, in the latter of which he looked best. At home or on his travels, he put on a simple dark-coloured dress-coat; in severe weather, a green or dark-blue frock-coat, with a plain military cocked hat, and boots and spurs. On gala days only, he dressed himself in the field-marshal's uniform, white with scarlet trowsers, with diamond stars on the breast and the ribbons of the two Austrian orders (of Maria Theresa and of St. Stephen) over the shoulder, and the jewel of the Golden Fleece suspended round his neck; besides all this, he wore large diamond shoe-buckles. He liked neatness and simplicity of dress in

forged at random by Jewish malice, acted on the erroneous conviction that a certain political secret had been betrayed by Günther, who alone could have known of it.

himself and in others. Rings he wore on very rare occasions; he used to say of men who thus bedizened themselves: "One ought to have very fine hands to decorate them with rings." After he was dressed, the Emperor worked the whole forenoon or gave audiences. The famous lobby leading to his cabinet, called the "Controlor-gang" (the comptroller's passage), was filled with people of both sexes, of every rank and age. From hour to hour, Joseph went out, took the petitions, and himself ushered those who wished to speak with him into his room; so that he might need as few middlemen as possible between himself and the people. He never kept any one waiting to whom he had given an appointment: for, said he, "I have too often been obliged to wait for hours in my father's ante-chamber, not to know from experience how irksome such delay is."

About twelve o'clock, the Emperor went out for a ride or a drive. During his latter years, he was generally accompanied by his nephew Francis, afterwards Francis II. If we may credit Swinburne, Joseph was but an indifferent horseman. When he was still in good health, he preferred to drive himself; in this case, only one or two footmen in a grey livery faced with yellow, with waistcoats and hats laced with silver, stood on the hindboard of his open green *calèche*, drawn by a pair of English horses. He only very rarely allowed the guard at the gate of the Hofburg to turn out and present arms. His dinner-time was very irregular. The appointed hour was two o'clock; but it was often three, four, and frequently even five before business allowed him to sit down to his dinner, which in the meanwhile was put on the stove to be kept warm. The meal seldom lasted more than half an hour. When in town, Joseph always dined by himself, waited upon by one servant, with whom he used to converse during his dinner. In the Augarten and at Laxenburg, he used to have guests from the nobility; and on his

travels, the cabinet secretaries dined with him. When he had guests, the conversation was free and lively; yet it turned more on serious than on light subjects. When he dined alone, he was served in a very plain style. He eat off silver, and generally had only six dishes, including dessert; soup and boulli, and a made dish of vegetables, *fricassee*, a roast joint, cooked fruit and sweet pastry; the last two items every day. For his own table he had a woman cook; for whom, in his earlier years, he would sometimes write the bill of fare. Joseph was no gourmand like Frederic of Prussia; he disliked French cookery, and in fact cared so little about eating, that he was scarcely able to distinguish wild-fowl from tame. Joseph, like his father, usually drank water with his meals, wine only rarely, and always very moderately; in the Turkish campaign, the physicians advised him on account of the malaria to drink Tokay, and from that time he continued the use of it in Vienna. The *chefs* and the professional cooks of the Imperial kitchen, whose place in other times had been anything but a sinecure, had nothing to do for Joseph, except on the occasion of great state dinners. At these dinners, and at the banquets given to the knights of the different orders, the Emperor was generally in a very bad humour, eating nothing and conversing only with the court-officials on duty about him.

After dinner, Joseph generally had music for an hour or so; he very often joined in the concert himself, being an excellent performer on the piano. He also sang a very fine bass. What the flute was to Frederic, the violoncello was to Joseph. At large concerts, in full orchestra, in quartettos, and small musical parties, he played the piano and also sang. Joseph preferred German music to any other. Mozart wrote his master-pieces under him;—in 1782, the Abduction from the Seraglio. After the first representation of this opera, Joseph tapped him on the shoulder, saying, "Very well, very good, Mozart; only there are

too many notes." "Neither more nor less than are needed," Mozart quickly replied; and Joseph then said, "Well, perhaps you are right; indeed you must know that best." Once the Emperor gave him a sonata of his own composition to revise, and afterwards asked with great eagerness, "What do you think of my sonata?" Mozart replied, "The sonata is very good in its way; but he who made it is better. I beg your Majesty not to take it ill if you find some windows (bars struck out) in it." Mozart received repeated invitations to England, and from Frederic William of Prussia an offer of a salary of 3000 dollars (about 430*l.*) if he would come to Berlin. Joseph, however, kept him back by the very poor salary of 800 florins (80*l.*). "May it please your Majesty I remain," was Mozart's answer, when Joseph, with his usual kind and fascinating way, asked him not to leave Vienna.

After the concert, Joseph again worked and gave audiences. About seven, he generally drove to the play. He was fond of the German national theatre, and did much for it. Comic operas, comedies, and farces were what he liked best. One of Joseph's favourite comedies was Grossman's "Not More than Six Dishes," a satire on the prodigality and the general manners of the nobility; who therefore took great pains to have the piece suppressed. The Italian opera also Joseph supported very generously. One of his favourite operas was *Il Re Teodoro*, by Païsiello, the libretto of which was another satire, pointed at King Gustavus III. of Sweden; who during his stay at Venice, in 1783, had displayed a most ridiculous profusion, which even extended to his dressing-gown.

The leader of the band at the Italian opera, Salieri, a pupil of Gluck's, likewise enjoyed great favour with Joseph. The Emperor did not pay his singers extravagantly; he gave less than Frederic the Great. Storace, the first singer, had 1000 ducats; Morelli and others had about

as much a year as people of their merit earn now in a week.

Joseph very seldom stayed to the end of a piece; and he never went in state, but was always present as any other private gentleman would. He never sat in the Imperial box in the centre, but in the third from the stage.

From the theatre, the Emperor drove to those select evening parties which he used to visit. In social intercourse, especially with ladies, Joseph's manners were most affable and agreeable. He was so gallant and attentive as even to place chairs for the ladies with his own hand, or to close the window when they were in a draught; and he told them his little stories and anecdotes with the most cheerful humour. His giving the preference to the society of ladies was one of the points in which he differed from Frederic, who confined himself almost entirely to that of men. Joseph, for this very reason, was much more amiable than the hermit of Sans Souci.

In the last years of his life, Joseph generally passed his evening in company with a few elderly ladies at the Liechtenstein palace; the select circle there comprising the Princesses Charles Liechtenstein and her sister-in-law Franz Liechtenstein, her sister Countess Ernest Kaunitz, and the Princesses Kinsky and Clary. The only gentlemen admitted were Count Ernest Kaunitz, a son of the prince, and the two most confidential friends of Joseph, Count Francis Rosenberg, and Field-marshal Lascy. This evening company was Joseph's most cherished recreation. Even a short time before his death, he wrote with his dying hand an affecting farewell to the Princess Franz Liechtenstein. The note bore the amiable and gallant address: "*Aux cinq dames reunies de la société, qui m'y toléraient.*" It contained the following words: "As my end is approaching, it is high time to express to you by these lines my full gratitude for that kindness, politeness, friendship, and agreeable ease which, during so many years that

we have passed in company together, you were pleased to grant and allow me. I do not regret one day, and the pleasure of conversing with you is the only sacrifice that I have to make in leaving the world. Have the kindness to remember me in your prayers. I cannot be sufficiently thankful for the mercy and favour of Providence towards me; all this I owe to it, so that I now await my last hour with resignation. Farewell. I am afraid you will not be able to read my indistinct writing; it bears evidence of my condition.—JOSEPH."

Every night, regularly between ten and eleven, and on Sundays at twelve o'clock, Joseph retired from these circles and drove home. There he opened the dispatches which had come in during the day; and often, if there was any pressing business, he would work until beyond midnight. He generally went to bed without taking any supper; if he asked for soup, it was a sign that he was not quite well. His usual bed in the Hofburg at Vienna was a sack filled with maize straw, over which a stag's skin and a linen sheet were spread. His pillow was a leathern cushion stuffed with horsehair. Nowhere on his travels, or in the camp, had he any other bed than a straw palliasse. After his illness in the spring of 1789, by the advice of his physicians only, he used a mattress.

To this daily routine Joseph invariably adhered at all times and in all places. He had no recreations besides music, the theatre, the tennis court, a drive, and his evening party (where conversation was the only social pleasure, as he never touched a card). The last occasion on which he danced was in 1767, at a splendid ballet at court, where he made his appearance in a magnificent fancy dress and rouged. He very rarely joined in the sports of the chase; during the whole summer perhaps only two or three times hawking at Laxenburg, or hunting in the Prater, in the Brigittenau, and near Stammersdorf. He hunted

solely for the sake of exercise; displaying very bold horsemanship, leaping over hedge and ditch. Once, when hunting a stag in the Brigittenau, he was in danger of being gored by the infuriated animal: but he had the presence of mind to stoop, and the antlers fortunately only tore away the part of his dress which it had already pierced; after which the stag ran off. Joseph, however, suffered for a month from a painful contusion in the chest. He was much more distressed at having, on the same occasion, killed a young man by a stray shot across the Danube. He presented the father of the youth on the spot with fifty ducats, and afterwards with two thousand. In after years, he did away with hunting; battues he never liked. Travelling was Joseph's greatest pleasure. He generally made a tour every summer, either in his own states or through foreign countries. He was then accompanied by a very small retinue, and he put up, like any other private person, at the hotels of the place; at the door of his room, however, he posted a tablet, by which the people were informed that the Emperor's chancellerie was here. He everywhere showed the public great respect; as soon as, on entering a town, he saw himself recognised and observed a large concourse of people, he rose on his feet, ordered the postilions to drive slowly, and showed himself to the people standing and bareheaded. But these journeys, which were to him only a pleasurable excitement, were very fatiguing to his suite. Joseph drove at a tearing speed in the public post-carriages of those times, which in many cases were still very bad; and he often travelled, over the most wretched roads,—even in Hungary,—fourteen stages* in six hours. He never minded the state of the weather, nor what sort of accommodation he might find on the road. Instead of resting himself he began to work with his cabinet secretaries, and then again hurried on; so that his companions complained

* Upwards of forty miles.

of their bones aching. For this reason, he in after years only took with him some general who was used to hardship. To avoid all inconvenient solemnities of reception and such like, he assumed the *incognito* of a Count of Falkenstein,—a title which he took from an estate which had originally belonged to his father. This *incognito* often led to the most amusing scenes. Once on his road to Paris, he arrived at a post-house when the post-master was just going to have his child christened. He at once offered himself as sponsor. The priest asked him for his name. "Joseph." "But the surname?" "Joseph (the) Second." "What station or profession?" "Emperor." The amazement of the parents soon gave way to an outburst of gratitude, as the Emperor made his little godson a very rich present. At Rheims, he arrived before his suite, and was just shaving, when the inquisitive host asked him whether he belonged to the suite of the Emperor; and what office he held about him? "I shave him sometimes," was Joseph's answer.

In Vienna also, Joseph liked to mingle unknown with the people. In this way, he heard many things which it interested him to know. His gestures and speech were lively and quick, just as were his actions; but the tone of his voice was rather grating and nasal. His temper was very hasty, and he grew more irritable with years; when he was angry or impatient, he curled his upper lip, looked straight and with glistening eyes before him, jingled the money in his pocket, or walked with long strides up and down the room rubbing his hands; sometimes he would also stamp the ground with his feet. He was everywhere at hand. Whilst he was at Vienna, a horse was kept ready saddled for him day and night. Thus he was always the first on the spot in case of fires, inundations, or other accidents, and generally lent a hand himself. Night, wind, or rain made no difference to him. Just the contrary of his procrastinating great ancestor Charles V., he was im-

petuous and hasty, the execution of a plan always following immediately on the heels of its conception; but with this restless zeal of always doing something new and useful, Joseph was completely wanting in patience to establish his schemes on a solid and lasting basis. Frederic the Great very justly characterised his manner of acting, in the remark: "*Joseph always takes the second step without the first.*"

Joseph was twice married, but, like Frederic, left no children. He first married, at the age of nineteen, Isabella Infanta of Parma; who was in her eighteenth year, and of whom he was dotingly fond. Her father was Don Philip, Duke of Parma, her mother a daughter of Louis XV. of France; thus she was descended from the Bourbons on both sides. Isabella, although pleasing, had no claims to be called a beauty. She had the dark olive of the Spanish ladies, which at Vienna unfavourably contrasted with the fair delicate complexion of the archduchesses her sisters-in-law, some of whom were allowed to be among the handsomest young ladies of Europe. Her mouth was pretty, her teeth were fine, and her eyes full of animation; but when she was silent or pensive, her face was devoid of attraction.

She was said to have had a prior attachment, which made her insensible to all the affectionate love which Joseph entertained for her, and which he showed to her on every occasion. Moreover, there is a strange story of her having always entertained a foreboding of an early death. She bore to Joseph, in 1761, a daughter, who was called, after her grandmother, Theresa, and whom she loved with all the glowing affection of her impassioned nature. When remonstrated with, that for the sake of her daughter she should not indulge in such gloomy fancies, she answered: "Do you believe that I should leave my child behind? I shall certainly not do so; you will have her only about six or seven years." This speech was the more extra-

ordinary as the young princess actually died at the age of seven.

This story is related by Sir Nathaniel Wraxall. Whilst she was pregnant the second time, she was seized with small-pox, of which she died on the 27th of November, 1763; after having borne, on the 22nd of that month, a second daughter, who received the name of Christina, but died on the day of her birth.

Joseph scarcely ever left the bedside of his tenderly beloved wife to her very last moment. As he was nearly sinking under the burden of his grief and from exhaustion, he had to be removed by force from the scene of his sorrow. Whilst he thus gave way to his passionate grief, his sister Christina, who had been the confidant of Isabella, told him — with the best intentions but with very ill-judged candour — that Isabella had never returned his affectionate love; and that her tenderness towards him had only been assumed from a feeling of duty. This cut terribly deep into Joseph's heart, and filled him with a bitterness which he never got over. It was very difficult to induce him to conclude a second marriage; but the very urgent importunities of his father, and his own wish to have an heir, at last determined him. Four princesses were proposed to him; and unfortunately Joseph, with his usual bad luck, was led into a most ill-suited match. The first princess who was proposed, was the gay Elizabeth of Brunswick, who afterwards married the fat King Frederic William II. of Prussia, and was divorced from him for adultery; but Maria Theresa objected to her for a daughter-in-law. The second princess was Donna Benedicta of Portugal; but the Emperor Francis had been informed that, to judge from appearances, she was not likely to have any children; so he objected to her. Now there were still on the list a Saxon and a Bavarian princess. Maria Theresa pressed one of her courtiers — very likely her master of the horse, Prince Charles Dietrichstein — to tell her can-

didly to which of those two princesses he, as a well-known connoisseur of female beauty, would give the preference, if *he* had to make the choice for himself. He hesitated a long time before giving an answer: at last, when the Empress emphatically assured him that he might tell her what he liked; for she would not be offended; he said: "*Je vous avoue donc Madame, que si j'étais le maître de mes actions, je ne voudrais ni l'une ni l'autre: mais le couteau au gosier et devant absolument en prendre une, je choisirais plutôt la Bavaroise, parce qu'au moins a-t-elle de gorge.*" The Empress laughed heartily, and did not dispute the validity of the plea. Joseph, however, wished at least to see the Saxon princess. This was Cunigunda, youngest daughter of King Augustus III. of Poland; and sister of Duke Albert, who at that time was a suitor for the hand of the Archduchess Christina. The latter, a very shrewd lady, tried in her own interest to bring about the match as a bridge to her own marriage with the duke, which the Emperor Francis had until then stoutly opposed. An appointment therefore was made for Joseph to meet Cunigunda, as it were by chance, at a hunt near Töplitz, in the course of the summer of 1764. The princess who was miserably thin, and was disfigured by a moustache, made her appearance on horseback. The meeting was short but decisive; Joseph gave up every thought of matrimony in that quarter. To indemnify the Princess Cunigunda, the Court of Vienna procured for her the abbeys of Essen and Thorn.

On the 22nd of January, 1765, Joseph was married to the Bavarian Princess Josepha, the sister of the last Elector of the old line, Maximilian: the prospect of the Bavarian inheritance had turned the balance in favour of this union. Yet this marriage was a very unhappy one: the lady was of very ordinary abilities; her education had been neglected, and she could not succeed in gaining the affections of her husband, with whom she was passionately

in love. To this must be added the state of her health. A scorbutic eruption, which covered her face and her whole body, soon made her an object rather of compassion than of attraction; and as it was suspected that this was known before marriage, it created an ill-feeling among her new family against her. The Emperor Francis was the only one who treated her with kindness and sympathy. At the news of his death, the princess called out, weeping bitterly: "*Ah, malheureuse que je suis! j'ai perdu mon seul appui!*" Even Maria Theresa treated her with coldness; as also did Joseph, who never disguised his disdain, although her submissiveness and her awe of him were so great that whenever he entered her room she turned pale and trembled.

Death at last came to her relief. The young Empress in May, 1767, was attacked by small-pox in its most virulent form. The Empress-Mother caught the infection at her bedside whilst attending on her; but she was saved. Joseph had at first refused to visit his invalid wife; only when his mother was seized with the same malady, he went to see the dying Empress Josepha. Such was the malignancy of the disease, that whole parts of her body became mortified before her death, and her face was in some places quite black and putrid. She died on the 28th of May, 1767. It was necessary, immediately after her death, to sew the body up in a linen covering, and thus to lay her out without showing the face. This gave rise to a silly report among the people, which survived many years, that the Empress Josepha was not dead; but that a stone had been laid in her coffin, and that she was still kept with the greatest secrecy in a Netherlandish fortress, or in a convent; and that this was the reason why Joseph had never gratified the ardent wish of his people by a third marriage. There can be no doubt but that he wished for a third marriage himself, and it was especially with this view, that he undertook his two journeys to Italy in

1769 and 1774, and the one to France in 1777; but he did not succeed in finding as beautiful a partner as he wished among the Roman Catholic princesses of Europe. When he sent for his nephew Francis to Vienna, to bring him up as his future successor, he had quite given up every idea of marrying again.

Joseph was never an habitual profligate, like his father and his brother; nor was he known at any period of his life to have had a mistress. The ladies in whose society he passed his evenings, were connected with him by no other ties than those of friendship. In his earlier years, especially, he was on most friendly terms with the Countess Windischgrätz of the house of Batthiany, and with the Countess Thun. The latter had three daughters, all of them celebrated beauties. The eldest of them married, in 1788, the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, Count Rassumowsky; the second, married to Prince Lichnowsky, became the grandmother of that Prince Felix Lichnowsky who was, in 1848, murdered by the rioters at Frankfort; and the third became Countess Guilfort.

One of the last ladies whom Joseph distinguished by his attentions was Theresa, daughter of Count Dietrichstein, master of the horse. "The divine Theresa," says Hormayr, in his posthumous fragment on Metternich, "was given in marriage by Joseph to his chamberlain, Count Philip Kinsky. This nobleman, a proud and saturnine man, thought himself ill-used; fancying that the Emperor had a more than platonic connection with Theresa, and that he wished to make the marriage merely the cover for his illicit passion, or, as the Viennese express it, "make him his elephant." Kinsky therefore left her immediately after the marriage ceremony, never to return to her. Men of the highest rank and character aspired to her hand, and she too wished for a divorce; but, as they were both Roman Catholics, the difficulties seemed insuperable. At last, after several years, the Nuncio Severoli

advised her to make an affidavit that the marriage ceremony had been performed during a terrible thunder-storm; and that, as she was always frightened by thunder, she was swooning, and scarcely conscious. Count Leopold von Thun, the last Prince Bishop of Passau, the uncle of Theresa, who had performed the ceremony, took it upon his conscience to attest that he had not heard the half-swooning bride pronounce the "I will." This plea, supported by other powerful metallic reasons, was admitted in Rome, and the marriage was declared null and void. Theresa then married Count Max Meerveldt, the same who, in 1797, concluded the first armistice with Napoleon at Leoben, and who—being made a prisoner in the battle of Leipzig—was sent by Napoleon to the Emperor Francis to negotiate. He died as ambassador in London.

CHAPTER XIV.

LEOPOLD II.

1790—1792.

1. PERSONAL NOTICES OF THE EMPEROR. — SECRET POLICE. — HIS SUDDEN DEATH.

JOSEPH II. was succeeded by his brother Peter Leopold, until then Grand Duke of Tuscany, who as Emperor took the name of Leopold II.

The first year of this short reign was almost entirely taken up with two great festivities — the second marriage of his eldest son Francis, and the coronation of Leopold. The marriage of the Archduke Francis took place on the 19th of September, 1790; and the whole family of the bride, Theresa of Naples, daughter of the famous Queen Caroline, came to Germany to be present at the ceremony. On the 20th of September, Leopold was elected German Emperor. Whilst the election was going on at Frankfort, he awaited the result at Aschaffenburg. On the 5th of October, he made his entry into Frankfort with the whole of the Imperial family, the Queen of Naples, &c. On the 6th, the Elector of Treves, Clement Wenceslaus of Saxony, gave to all the Imperial and royal personages a breakfast on board his splendid barge, which was moored in the river Maine. On the 9th, the coronation took place; it was the last but one before the dissolution of the German Empire, and it was celebrated with a magnificence such as had never been displayed on any former occasion: the silver plate used at the banquet weighed, according to

the statement of Baron Stramberg, 80,000 marks of Cologne. On the 12th, the Imperial family again breakfasted with the Elector of Treves. In the afternoon, the new Emperor paid his visit to the electors present at Frankfort; in the evening, the persons of the Imperial court, together with the electors and other illustrious guests, took supper on board of the large state barge of the Elector of Treves, which, as well as that of the Elector of Cologne, was most magnificently illuminated. On the 16th of October, the Emperor was back in Vienna.

The first act of Leopold on his return to Vienna, was immediately to abolish Joseph's secret cabinet, and to dismiss the functionaries appointed by the late Emperor. Many thousand papers were burnt. Young Prince Charles of Liechtenstein* became the director of the new cabinet, and the manager of the department of the *menus plaisirs* of his gallant master. Leopold's Italian confidant was Manfredini.

Leopold found the Empire in the greatest state of excitement. The Netherlands were kept in a continual ferment by the neighbourhood of France. Hungary was disaffected, Bohemia and the Arch-duchy of Austria began to reclaim their old privileges. The Estates of Lower Austria appearing in a body at Vienna, Leopold restored to them all that they had had under his mother; a kindness which so much affected the faithful lieges, that they left the Imperial presence with tears in their eyes. Leopold especially did away at once with the new system of taxation, and in short replaced the government entirely on the old footing. First of all, he allayed, by the mediation of the Prussian, Dutch, and English governments, the storm in the Netherlands. The pacification was brought about by a general amnesty, from which few only

* Prince Charles fell in 1795, at the early age of thirty, in a famous duel for the sake of the Baroness Fanny Arnstein, by the hand of Baron Weichs, a canon.

were excluded; and by the restoration of the old feudal privileges of the Estates of those provinces. The Belgian aristocracy was only too glad to return from the violent republican and priestly rule of Van der Noot to the gentle aristocratic sway of Austria. In Austria itself, and especially in Vienna, Joseph's government had left behind it a lasting impression which could never be effaced,—a freer spirit which was never entirely crushed, and which you may meet with even to this day in Vienna among the people as well as among the higher ranks; the nobility was obliged to abate somewhat from its overbearing superciliousness, as far at least as social intercourse went: for in public affairs the nobles have ever continued to take the lead.

Leopold II. was a very kind-hearted sovereign. He too aimed at the happiness of his subjects, and had reformed in Tuscany, as his brother did in Austria. But he was a very weak man, and his brother-in-law, the Lazzaroni king Ferdinand of Naples, used to call him only *il dottore*. He had had an Italian education, the consequence of which was, that his weak mind was swayed by fear and superstition. From Tuscany, he brought with him a regularly organized secret police; and he was surrounded by a crowd of spies and informers. Leopold reigned not more than two years; but this short period was fraught with events of the highest importance. Contrary to the advice of old Kaunitz, the Austrian cabinet determined to oppose the French revolution by power of arms; and the first coalition was concluded against France, in August 1791, at Pillnitz, where Leopold, accompanied by his son the Archduke Francis, afterwards his successor, and by Baron Spielmann and Field-marshal Lascy, met with Frederick William II. of Prussia, who was likewise attended by his son, the Crown Prince. This convention, by which Napoleon, as he himself expressed it, "was born," Leopold survived only by half a year. During the last months of his

life, his feeble constitution gave way altogether; he almost entirely lost his memory, and with difficulty remembered things as they happened from one day to the other. He had a very large family; but he indulged in profligate excesses which ruined his health. His wife Maria Ludovica, a daughter of King Charles III. of Spain, whom he married in 1765, was a thin, pale, and very delicate lady, not at all handsome or attractive. She showed great forbearance to his infidelities; so much so, that at Florence she would sometimes have her embroidery frame taken to the house of her rival, the opera singer Livia, and converse with her in the most condescending manner. She survived the Emperor only about ten weeks, during which she wept and prayed incessantly, feeling very deeply that her husband had been called so suddenly to appear before his God. The Emperor's death happened very shortly after his coronation with the Bohemian crown at Prague, after an illness of only three days. The first bulletin, which was also the last, contained these words: "Le 1er Mars (1792), l'Empereur commença à vomir avec des horribles agitations, et rendait tout ce qu'il prenait: à 3½ heures après midi, en vomissant, il expira en présence de S. M. l'Impératrice."

There was a rumour of his having been poisoned, the suspicion even being fixed on Signora Livia, who afterwards lived in great luxury in Italy. Hormayr, however, has completely refuted this gratuitous suspicion. Leopold dabbled in alchemy and chemistry, and hastened his death by the use of stimulating pills, manufactured in his own laboratory, of that sort which were then in Italy called Diavolini. Frederic William II. of Prussia had sent to him, as an ambassador, the famous Rosicrucian, General Bischofswerder, who was reputed to be particularly skilled in the preparation of those erotic stimulants; and with this adept the Emperor was repeatedly engaged in alchemist and other similar experiments in his secret laboratory.

Donna Livia was, however, not the only mistress of Leopold; she had to share his favour with a Polish woman, Prohaska, a German Countess Wolkenstein, and other ladies of lower rank. From the time that Leopold had taken up his residence at Vienna, the countess was the only declared favourite; he even had presented her to his Empress; who, with much forbearance, expressed herself to the purport, that she felt more kindly towards the countess than any other, provided she did not meddle with affairs of government. Leopold presented his sultana with 200,000 florins in bank bills; his sudden death was thought to have prevented him from providing for the other ladies. There was found in his cabinet a whole collection of magnificent stuffs, rings, fans, and even a quantity, nearly amounting to 100 lbs., of superfine rouge.

2. THE FAMILY OF THE EMPEROR LEOPOLD II.

LEOPOLD and Ludovica of Spain left the same number of children as Maria Theresa and Francis I., viz. sixteen, twelve sons and four daughters. But whereas the children of Maria Theresa were all of them healthy, the sons of Ludovica were afflicted with the hereditary evil of the Spanish Bourbons, convulsions and epilepsy. The Archduke John alone was free from it; all the other sons suffered more or less from this terrible malady; the Archduke Charles very badly; most of all the Archduke Rodolph. Ludovica's daughters were free; but the malady re-appeared in the granddaughters, as, for instance, in the Archduchess-Co-Regent, Caroline of Saxony.

The sons of Leopold II. were:—

1. The Emperor Francis II.
2. The Archduke Ferdinand, who succeeded in Tuscany.
3. The Archduke Charles, the hero of Austria during Napoleon's wars, who died in 1847. His eldest son, Albert

(born in 1817) was appointed, in 1851, Civil and Military Governor of Hungary.

4. and 5. The Archdukes Alexander-Leopold and Joseph: succeeded each other as Palatines of Hungary.

Alexander-Leopold was a handsome, clever, and affable prince. He received in 1790, at the age of eighteen, as the first of the princes of the Habsburg-Lorraine, the dignity of Palatine of Hungary. But immediately after the putting down of the conspiracy of Martinowits (of which more hereafter), the prince returned to Vienna, in the beginning of July, 1795. On the 12th of that month, his sister-in-law, the Empress Theresa, was going for the summer to Laxenburg; the prince, who had a great fancy for fireworks, which he manufactured himself, wished to receive the Empress, on her arrival, with a pyrotechnical display, which he was going to light himself in the casemates of Laxenburg, attended by some of his body-servants. At the moment when the arrival of the Empress was announced by the discharge of a small gun, the Archduke lighted the first rocket: just then the door opened, and the draught of air threw back the rocket on the fireworks and on the powder-barrels. It was too late for the prince to escape; he was burned all over his body, and died soon after; his two servants shared the same fate.

Hormayr, in a most positive manner, contradicts the supposition that the death of the Archduke had been owing to anything but mere accident.

The Archduke Joseph was likewise a handsome man, very clever and very shrewd. He held the place of Palatine for fifty years, and died, like his brother the Archduke Charles, in 1847. He was succeeded as Palatine by his son the Archduke Stephen; who was displaced by the events of the year 1848.

6. The Archduke Antony became Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order, and died in 1835, one month after his brother the Emperor Francis. He was known for his

affability, and for his taste for historical curiosities and for flowers.

7. The Archduke John, the Styrian, and friend of the Tyrolese, became Director of the Austrian Corps of Engineers, and was, in 1848, made Regent of the projected German Empire. He was born in 1782, and, since 1818, united in Morganatic marriage with Ann Blochel, the daughter of a postmaster near Grätz. In 1849, she was raised to the rank of Countess Von Brandhofen; and in 1851, to that of Countess Meran. The son of this marriage bears the name of Francis, Count Meran.

8. The Archduke Rainier was Viceroy of Italy, a quiet and excellent man, but not particularly distinguished for grasp of mind.

9. The Archduke Rodolph was Cardinal Archbishop of Olmütz; he was the patron of Beethoven, and a thoroughly kind-hearted man. He died in 1831.

10. Archduke Louis was a Field-Marshal, every inch a bureaucrat, and an indefatigable reader. He was, with Metternich, the main prop of the Austrian policy, until the revolution of March, 1848. The Liberal party in Vienna used to call him "the Grey Sneak."

11. and 12. Two Archdukes, who died in infancy.

Of the four daughters of the Emperor Leopold II.,—

1. Maria Theresa, was married to Prince, afterwards King Antony of Saxony.

2. Clementina married the Crown Prince of the Two Sicilies.

3. Maria Anna died unmarried at the age of thirty-nine, in 1809.

4. Maria Amelia died at the age of eighteen, in 1798.

CHAPTER XV.

FRANCIS II.

1792—1835.

1. HIS YOUTH AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS REIGN.—COUNT COLLOREDO.—BARON SCHLOISNIG, AND THE WIDOW POUTET, AFTERWARDS COLLOREDO, AND LASTLY DUCHESS OF LORRAINE.—THE NEAPOLITAN CAMARILLA.

LEOPOLD II. was succeeded by his son, Francis II.; who was the last Emperor of Germany, and the first of Austria.

Francis was born at Florence, on the 12th February, 1768, three years after the accession of his father to the government of Tuscany. The fact of Francis being born an Italian must never be lost sight of in the estimation of his character; which was most strongly influenced also by the Italian education which, to the age of sixteen, he received under the eyes of his weak-minded father, and no less weak-minded mother. After having resolved on giving up, in favour of Francis, every idea of a third marriage, the Emperor Joseph sent, in the summer of 1784, for his nephew to Vienna. A few months after, the uncle, in his "Considerations* concerning the Education of the Archduke Francis" (dated 18th August, 1784), expresses himself, in speaking of his nephew, in the following manner:—

* *Ad fontes rerum Austriacarum.* The paper written by Joseph Feil, "The Emperor Joseph as Educator," from original documents.

"When we consider that he is seventeen years of age, and compare him with others of the same age, we are at once struck with the conviction that his physical development has been completely neglected; that he is stinted in his growth; that he is very backward in bodily dexterity and deportment; in short, that he is neither more nor less than a spoiled mother's child, who considers all that he does himself as infinitely important and hazardous, and never takes into any account what he sees others doing or suffering for him. The manner in which he was treated for upwards of sixteen years, could not but have confirmed him in the delusion, that the preservation of his own person was the only thing of any importance."

In February, 1785, Joseph spoke of his nephew as a youth "not very happily endowed by nature, and neglected to his seventeenth year, in whom a mistaken and most unsuitable education had fostered and nursed a spirit of selfish vanity; who had been crammed with knowledge without being shown how to employ it usefully; who was tenacious only in his false notions, and remiss in taking any means for overcoming them; without any interest in what might tend to his instruction and cultivation; who was only intent upon trifles which amused him, or which offered any points to his spirit of petty criticism."

Count Francis de Paula Colloredo had been appointed chief governor of Francis as far back as 1772, at Florence, when the future Emperor was still heir-apparent of Tuscany. The Emperor Joseph, on his part, added two "general adjutants," (aides-de-camp), Count Camilla Lamberti and Francis von Rollin. The chief governor was intended by Joseph to form the manners of the prince, as far as the great occasions of state were concerned; the adjutants, on the other hand, were charged with his moral training and deportment, and were to instruct him in military science.

Joseph had, in 1785, expressly stated his opinion, "that

there was not the least reason why the education of his nephew should be considered as finished before he was twenty-four years of age, or even beyond it; and that his marriage might very well be delayed until then, as the House of Austria was not wanting in succession, and it was the interest of the state that he should enter upon the world only after being properly trained." Yet, notwithstanding this, the marriage took place much earlier, on the 6th January, 1788, when Francis had not completed his twentieth year; the bride being Elizabeth of Würtemberg, the sister of the wife of the Emperor Paul. Joseph had selected her for his nephew, with a wish to draw closer the bonds of Russia, in opposition to Prussia.

In the same year, Francis accompanied his uncle to the unfortunate Turkish war; in the course of which, at the panic of Lugos, where Joseph's open carriage was overturned on the small bridge, he received two serious injuries, and for some time spat blood in consequence. Francis also shared in the second campaign under Loudon, and on the 30th September, 1789, fired the first cannon-shot against Belgrade. On the 18th of February, 1790, Elizabeth of Würtemberg died; on the 19th September, Francis married, in second wedlock, Theresa of Naples, the gay daughter of the gay Queen Caroline; and on the 9th of October, he was present at the coronation of his father at Frankfort, whom in August, 1791, he accompanied to Pillnitz.

At the sudden death of his father, Francis, from his aversion to business, stoutly refused to undertake the government; and it was not until the second day, that his confessor succeeded in overcoming his obstinacy by representing to him, that government was a duty imposed upon him by God, and that he might be quite easy in his conscience, if in all things he followed the majority of his Council of Ministers.

The conjuncture under which Francis entered upon the

government, had a most decisive influence upon his sentiments as a ruler, just as his Italian education had had upon his general character. The revolutionary flame which then had burst forth in France, made an indelible impression upon the mind of Francis. At the time of his coronation at Frankfort, on the 14th of July, 1792,—it was the last of a German Emperor, and it passed off very quietly, and almost gloomily,—the Duke of Brunswick had already issued his famous manifesto; the Prussian army was marching to Champagne; in Paris, trees of liberty were the order of the day, and the *sans culottes* sang the Marseillaise; on the 10th of August, 1792, Louis XVI. was sent to the Temple; on the 21st of September 1792, the Republic was proclaimed. On the 21st of January, 1793, the King, and, in October, the Queen, the aunt of Francis, were executed.

Francis appointed as cabinet minister his former chief governor, Colloredo; who in his turn chose for his cabinet councillor, the professor of history and law, Von Schloisnig, who had been employed by him in what was called the education of Francis. Strange stories were rife concerning the mode in which that education was conducted. Colloredo, as Schlosser states, made over the Archduke to the care of Baron Von Schloisnig, and of the arch-Jesuit, Diesbach, who, in order to spare the weak mind of their good-natured, but from a child quite matter-of-fact pupil, employed him in the manufacture of pretty bird-cages, in the preparation of varnish, and in using the productions of his ingenuity for the decoration of household furniture. "As a recreation after these labours," Schlosser continues, "the teachers and their pupil leaped over chairs and tables, and played at blind man's buff; so that Joseph II., whose apartments were under those of the Archduke, was obliged to put a stop to the noise." The education of the second wife of Francis, the daughter of the Lazzaroni king, was even worse; and the rumours which

were circulated of the manner in which the young imperial couple beguiled their time, were certainly not calculated to make the public conceive any high opinion of the judgment, the talent, or the tastes of the new Emperor.

The business of the state, during the first year of the new reign, was completely in the hands of Colloredo and Schloisnig, who were called at Vienna "the two Emperors." They associated with themselves Count Francis von Saurau, to take the management of the terrible police of those times. Colloredo, however, soon afterwards found out, that it was contrary to all Habsburg precedent to have Schloisnig, who did not belong to the highest aristocracy, placed in the position of co-regent; he therefore overthrew him, through the Empress.

Schloisnig seemed dangerous by the superiority of his learning; but he was altogether neither more nor less than a timid and common-place theorist. The intrigue, according to Hormayr, was carried out by a young lady, who had every requisite, if she wished it, to enchant and to conquer hearts,—Victoria von Poutet, the youthful widow of a captain of hussars, who had been killed in the battle of Aldenhoven, in 1793. She was the friend of Baron Thugut, who had recommended her to Colloredo. Through him, she had been introduced into the household of the Empress; and she became first aja, and afterwards chief governess of the first child, the Archduchess Marie Louise. Old Francis Colloredo, in 1799, married the widow Poutet, for whom the Flemish herald, Reydaels, improvised a pedigree as Countess Ffolliot de Grenneville of noble Irish descent. She bore to the old Count, who died in 1806, a son and daughter; and married, in 1816, her third husband, the last male scion of the illustrious House of Lorraine, Prince Charles of Lorraine, Duke of Elboeuf and Lambesc: who in former times had been Grand Equerry of the crown of France, and who likewise had been married twice before. The couple, however, separated after the first year; and

the prince died in 1825, as Austrian Field Marshal, at the age of seventy-four. Victoria von Poutet rid Colloredo of his obnoxious colleague, by making Schloisnig seriously believe that the Empress was dying of love for him; and soon the new Malvoglio was removed from court, being made vice-president of the Bohemian-Austrian Chancellerie, and King at Arms of the Golden Fleece. After this tragi-comic downfall of Schloisnig, in 1793, the two Neapolitan princesses, the Empress Theresa, and her mother Caroline, and the Camarilla of the ladies, Poutet, Lichnowsky, Jablonowsky, Ruspoli, Thierheim, Thurn, and Khevenhüller, ruled paramount in the state council. It was by their management that Baron Thugut got into the Cabinet, where he took the place of Prince Kaunitz.

On the 26th June, 1794, the day after the battle of Fleurus, which decided the triumph of France for the next twenty years, Prince Kaunitz, "the Samuel of the Austrian diplomacy," breathed his last. He had in his latter days, after all, been supplanted by Count Philip Cobenzl, who, as his vice-chancellor, had long managed the foreign affairs under him. During the last years of Kaunitz's life, it had certainly been very difficult to transact business with him. He was so very deaf, and took so little heed of what he was doing: for as it was very difficult to get a private audience with him, it was necessary to talk very loud, and also to stand the frequent ebullitions of his irascibility. At last the Prince was no longer consulted at all, as he indeed began on too many occasions to commit himself very gravely. Such was the absence of mind of the old man, that frequently, after dinner, he would quite seriously take diplomatists to task, about things which he could not have known in any other way but from their intercepted despatches and opened letters. The convention at Pillnitz, and the first alliance against France was concluded without the knowledge and contrary to the advice of Kaunitz; and

despatches which ran directly counter to his views and wishes, still bore the signature, so long and so highly respected, of W. A. Kaunitz, which Cobenzl and Spielmann caused to be traced against the window by a copyist: when Kaunitz was informed of this, he ceased to eat, and refused every restorative; so that, not caring any longer for life, he actually starved himself. He was buried at Austerlitz.

2. THE STATE CHANCELLOR THUGUT, 1794–1801. — THE VIENNA POLICE, AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PLOTS. — THE MURDER OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADORS AT RASTADT.—COUNT LEHRBACH. — THE BATTLE OF FLEURUS, AND THE GIVING UP OF BELGIUM AND THE LEFT BANKS OF THE RHINE WITH MAYENCE. — SUWAROW AND THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN IN ITALY.

FRANCIS, Baron Von Thugut, succeeded Kaunitz in 1794. He was born in 1739, at Linz, and was descended from a family of boatmen, which had removed from the neighbourhood of Straubing to that town. As is very common among people of that class, his surname was orignally a nickname, Thuniggut (do no good, good for nothing). His father, however, formerly the owner of a boat and afterwards steward of the Vicedomat of Linz, had, for the sake of his son, changed the name into Thugut (do good). These notices, as Hormayr states, were given with other anecdotes to the Emperor Joseph II.,—at a time when Francis Thugut was already a baron and an ambassador—by a ferryman who rowed the Emperor across the swollen waters of the Danube.

Thugut was the first commoner who rose to the post of premier at Vienna. Even as a boy, he had attracted general attention; the Jesuits especially interested themselves for him. He received his education at the Oriental Academy in Vienna. In 1754, he became an interpreter-pupil

(Sprach-Knabe); in 1757, actual interpreter at Constantinople; and in 1769, when he had scarcely completed his thirtieth year, minister resident at the Sublime Porte.

In 1769, Thugut, with the Prussian Ambassador, Colonel von Zegelin, had to act as mediator between Russia and the Porte, a task in which he showed the greatest intrepidity. At a season when the populace of Constantinople was in such a state of excitement that many people were publicly murdered in the streets, Thugut traversed the city at night-time in disguise, and during a violent storm crossed the Bosphorus to hold the secret meetings with the Turkish Ministers; the rendezvous being changed every time, as those Turks would have lost their heads if the Ulemas had got wind of the secret convention, by the terms of which the Sublime Porte had to pay to Austria for her neutrality, during the Russian War, upwards of eleven million florins within the year, and had engaged to free the Austrian commerce from every sort of restriction. In consequence of the peace of Kudjuk Kainardge, concluded between the Russians and Turks, in 1774, Thugut obtained from the Porte, for Austria, the important province of Bukowina, which connected Transylvania with Gallicia; the latter province having been acquired in the partition of Poland, in 1772. He was now raised to the rank of Baron, and became a privy councillor, and knight commander of the Order of St. Stephen. The year 1777 he passed in diplomatic journeys in Italy and France; going once to Naples and twice to Paris, to apprise the sisters of Joseph, the Queens Caroline and Marie Antoinette, with the views of their brother. In the war of the Bavarian Succession, he negotiated at the convent of Braunau—by the order of Maria Theresa, but without the knowledge and to the great anger of Joseph—under the assumed character of a Russian Secretary, with Frederic II.; and thus paved the way to the congress of Teschen, in 1779. It was on this occasion that Thugut left behind the red tape of his pile

of papers, and Frederic called him back, and said to him, "*Tenez, je n'aime pas le bien d'autrui.*"

In 1780, Thugut went as ambassador to Warsaw, where he found it rather difficult to keep his ground against the Russian minister Count Stackelberg, who was all-powerful there; and against the Prussian envoy Lucchesini. On his first presentation at court, Thugut committed the blunder of mistaking Stackelberg, who rudely pushed himself forward, for the king, Stanislaus Poniatowsky. Stackelberg, with consummate malice, allowed him to finish his complimentary address, and then quietly said, pointing to Stanislaus: "*Monsieur, voici le Roi!*" But Thugut was not the man to allow himself cheaply to be made sport of, and Stackelberg had to smart for his impertinence before the day was over. There was a card party at court that evening. The King, Stanislaus, played with the three ambassadors of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; Thugut, in the course of the rubber, played a knave (*valet*) instead of the king, and took with it a trick over a queen. When Lucchesini pointed it out to him, Thugut answered, with the most innocent mien in the world: "*Ne voilà-t-il-pas aujourd'hui, qu'il m'arrive encore de prendre un valet pour un roi?*"

Shortly before the outbreak of the Turkish war of 1788, Thugut had gone as ambassador to Naples; but after the outbreak of the second Turkish war, in 1789, we find him, with the Austro-Russian army, under Prince Coburg and Suwarow, in Moldavia and Wallachia. At the siege of Giurgevo, he was the only civilian, and his friend Madame de Poutet the only woman, in the camp. Yet they alone, at the sortie of the Turks, did not lose their presence of mind. Thugut, in fact, quite seriously drew his fashionable small sword. In this campaign he availed himself of the opportunity of perfecting himself among Russians and Greeks in all the craftiness of diplomatic trickery. Soon after, in 1790, he was sent to Paris, to assist the unfortu-

nate Marie Antoinette with his advice. He very adroitly carried on the negotiations with Mirabeau, which were foiled only by the death of that aristocratic demagogue. He even had dealings with Maximilian Robespierre, for the purpose of saving the unfortunate Queen. "He found," says Hormayr, "that neither Robespierre nor his brother were inaccessible to Austrian ducats; but they did not dare to carry out active steps to save the Queen:" which merely means that the French took Thugut's bribe without doing anything to earn it.

Thugut, on his return to Vienna, sounded the war-trumpet, contrary to the better advice of Prince Kaunitz. He took his cue from the French emigrants, shared their sanguine hopes, and had formed a mean opinion of the French army. He was, however, just as violent in his hatred against the new allies of Austria, the Prussians.

After the death of Prince Kaunitz on the 26th of June, 1794, he became premier minister, and maintained his post for seven years. "Thugut," says Hormayr, "was of middling height; and in his advanced age,—he was nearly eighty when he died,—he stooped very much. His features were a mixture of those of a faun and a Mephistopheles. Even in his politeness there was a sort of latent sneer and a certain cynicism. Easy elegance and grace, and proud aristocratic bearing, were altogether strange to his nature. Yet he was far too intellectual ever to be vulgar. No Austrian would have taken his likeness in a cabinet of wax figures for that of a countryman, but rather for that of a secretary to Louis XI. of France; of Cæsar Borgia; or of one of the most confidential emissaries of Louvois. Even men of superior talent would never have thought meanly of him. In a statesman, firmness of character is much more sure to command respect than even the most transcendent genius would do. Thugut's was such a character. From a child he had a remarkable control over himself, that he might be the better able to push his own interests.

The pleasures of the table had no charm for him; comfort he did not value; and voluptuousness did not sway him. In love affairs he was a downright cynic. An Italian lady, distinguished as a beauty and as a singer, had her interviews given her in the more than Correggian *chiaro-scuro* of a '*lieu*,' between Thugut's office and the room of the Messenger of the Chancellerie. A glass of water and seven plums were his invariable supper. His sleep was short, but, even in his most advanced age, as placid as that of a child. Thugut having passed his best years as Interpreter and Internuncio at Constantinople, the air of the Seraglio stuck to him through life. He was about as pious as the writer of the book *De Tribus Impostoribus*. Always treading in the track of Voltairian philosophy, he loved the clergy and the oligarchy in that way which is formularised in Diderot's well-known saying about what should be done with kings and priests. He would not even hear of the priesthood as an energetic tool of passive obedience and of obscurantism. Poland had filled him with an absolute horror of aristocrats; Paris showed to him the Medusa head of democracy. Yet, notwithstanding his instinct of oppression and of keeping the masses in darkness, Thugut cultivated learning to gratify his own taste. He loved to converse with learned men, because he would rather inquire than read. His ideas on history, public law, and politics were completely after the French pattern."

"*Power was to him the only, infallible, eternal, divine principle;* and for this very reason he bore misfortune with such constancy; for it was power only that had beaten him down, and if it smiled upon him again, nothing was lost. Implacable and ever unforgiving, he, more than any man, was a good hater. His policy knew neither virtue nor vice, but only expedients. He neither wished to convince nor corrupt people; but was quite content so long as he had the means of forcing them. He had a sovereign contempt for mankind. The reports of the many millions

which he was said to have hoarded, and of the English money which he had received, are not worth refuting; but, besides being always very methodical and frugal, he had, in the course of half a century, almost incessant opportunities of honestly amassing a fortune. He had a particular manner of angling for interested people of consequence, so as to make them push him on. During his absence in Constantinople, in Poland, and at Naples, he deposited in the hands of such persons, without taking any receipt or acknowledgment, large sums in cash, jewellery, and plate, and afterwards denied having done so; or, being on leave at Vienna, he would allow them to win from him at cards to a very considerable amount."

The Referendaries of State under him were Baron Egidius Collenbach, the son of that diplomatist who signed the peace of Hubertsburg; and the Tyrolese Baron Dayser of Sylbach. These two, as the most useful of all his officials, had a greater share in his confidence at least than the others. But he had very litle intercourse with any of them. He delivered to his subordinates all the papers in silence, and received them in silence again, merely with a bow. As the best proof of his thorough contempt for men, it may be mentioned, that he would readily overlook any bad quality or any offence in a subordinate, provided it did not bear upon politics, or interfere with his plans. To him every thing seemed meet and fitting which increased the degradation and servitude of man. His private secretary, Hübsehle, was rarely sober. Thugut was quite content that it should be so; the man was so much the more completely in his power. He struck a crushing blow, or he did not strike at all. The fashion so much in vogue after his time, of "killing with pricks of the pin," would have been far too troublesome to him; but to him belongs the honour of having invented the system of "altogether ignoring and forgetting the most noble-hearted men."

Being the most bitter enemy of the French Revolution,

Thugut, to prevent its spread in Austria, reorganised the secret police of Vienna on a new footing; so that it became a most effective tool for his plans. The emissaries of the French Jacobins had met, until then, with very little success in the Austrian States. Thugut, however, although he himself had no apprehensions, wanted to excite the fear of the rulers, to lash Europe into the crusade against the ideas which had overturned the monarchy of the French Bourbons; and his *agents provocateurs* soon furnished him with the thing which he wanted.

Two conspiracies were alleged to have been discovered; that of Hebenstreit, in 1793, in Vienna, and that of Martinowits, in 1795, in Hungary. The first was quite near the throne. Its head was Hebenstreit, who, as town-major of Vienna, held the keys of the arsenals, and of the principal places of the city. His accomplices were assumed to be the poet Prandstätter, who, as a member of the magistracy of Vienna, had great influence in that city; Professor Baron Riedel, who enjoyed great confidence even at Court, where he gave instruction; and a merchant, Häckel, who was to have managed the money point. The conspiracy was asserted to have aimed at the introduction of a democratical constitution; and to have had accomplices among all classes of society, even in the most remote provinces of the monarchy. The discovery was said to have been made at Denmark, where a similar plot had been framed. Hebenstreit was imprisoned, and afterwards hanged. Baron Riedel was made to stand in the pillory, and disappeared in the Hungarian fortress of Munkatch. Some days after, Prandstätter and several others underwent the same treatment, and were likewise sent to that fortress. In the Peace of Campo Formio, in 1797, Napoleon obtained the liberation of as many of them as had not fallen victims to the hardships of the prison and to the severity of the climate. From this intercession it was concluded, that the conspiracy of Hebenstreit had some

connection with the intrigues of the French Republican Propaganda.

The second conspiracy was in Hungary. It was headed by the Bishop and Abbot Joseph-Ignatius Martinowits, a sensible and energetic man, to whom the Emperor Joseph, in his time, had shown great favour. The object of this principally aristocratic conspiracy*, was to separate Hungary from Austria, and to raise the Palatine Archduke Alexander Leopold on the throne of an independent kingdom of Hungary. This, at least, was the purport of the minutes of the trial. The leading conspirators, Martinowits and four others, were beheaded. The Palatine, to whom no participation in any treasonable plot could be brought home, returned, in 1795, deeply dejected to Vienna, never to see Hungary again. His shocking death by the fireworks at Laxenburg has been mentioned before.

Thugut's foreign policy was just as onesided and arbitrary as his home administration. He followed up the system in vogue under Kaunitz, of maintaining the political balance by allowing the encroachments of one power to be equalised by those of another. "In this way," Hormayr says, "countries with their peoples were bartered, parcelled out, and frittered away, and the family ties between the dynasties and the nations severed." Thugut read those despatches only which came in from the scene of war, or from the four principal embassies. All the rest he flung aside. At the time of his leaving the ministry, upwards of 170 despatches, with their seals unbroken, and more than 2000 unopened letters were found. In this manner he lost the most momentous chances, as, for instance, that of bringing about a marriage between the Archduke Charles and the Princess Augusta of Saxony, and having him raised to the throne of Poland;

* Bermann, Austrian Biographical Lexicon, Vienna, 1851, Part I. p. 97.

a plan which was greatly cherished by a strong and most respectable party."

Thugut's inveterate hatred against France was so bitter and violent, that any one who dared to speak of peace was treated at Vienna not much better than as an outlaw. This hatred against France made him a favourite with the cabinet of St. James, which considered the boatman's son as the only man of genius in Austria.

The Russians also he had taught to respect him. They knew him from the time of his embassy at Constantinople. In their confidential despatches, there were great complaints against the "*maudit cabinet autrichien*," and against its plans of conquest; but Thugut knew very well how to meet and to thwart the Emperor Paul's own ambitious projects.

The Austrian plans alluded to in the Russian despatches, referred to Bavaria. During the whole course of the first war of the coalition against France, Thugut had watched for an opportunity of realising them. *The French government*, which, until the summer of 1794, had Robespierre for its head, *was to be induced to allow Austria to annex Bavaria; on which condition, Belgium should be left to France.*

"At Vienna," Baron Stramberg writes, "there were, at that time, two powerful parties combating against each other. The one, composed of the majority of the ruling aristocracy, looked upon the Netherlands as an inconvenient encumbrance, by which the monarchy was drawn into all the western wars, with no return for the streams of blood which had to be shed in its defence. This party wished the connection to be dissolved at any price.

"The opposite party consisted of the Belgian great nobles, sobered down from their infatuation, and of some influential Austrian families with which they had intermarried; of a mass of Belgian generals and officers; and

of a still greater number of placemen. This party wished the connection to be maintained at any price."

Thugut belonged to the former of the two parties; he held out to the French government the possession of the Netherlands—so eagerly coveted by every French statesman down from the times of Louis XIV.—as a prize which Austria was inclined to make over to France, on condition of being allowed to secure for herself an equivalent by taking possession of Bavaria.

Whilst, however, the negotiations in this matter were going on, and even were very nearly brought to a conclusion, the cannon of the two hostile armies continued to roar in the plains of Belgium. The Emperor Francis himself was with the army from the middle of April to the middle of June. In the murderous battle of Tournay, on the 22nd of May, when the French, with tremendous shouts of victory, made a charge against the Imperialists, the Emperor alighted from his horse, and prostrated himself on his knees in the sight of the whole army, to implore the Lord for help and support. On the 13th of June, the Emperor set out on his return. On the 15th, he arrived at Wiesbaden, where he passed the night. From Wiesbaden he proceeded by the shortest road to Vienna, and sent from Frankfort a courier to his uncle, the Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, at the camp of Schwetzingen ; informing him that he had received, on the way, despatches which caused him to go straight to Vienna, instead of joining the camp. The Prince of Condé, with the Dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, the Duke of Zweibrücken, the Prince of Spires, and the Margrave of Baden, who expected the Emperor at the camp, were not a little astonished.*

Thugut, the head of the anti-Belgian party, at last carried the day in the cabinet, and now did his utmost as

* Rheinischer Antiquarius, by Ch. von Stramberg (from contemporary accounts), Part I., vol. i., p. 229. and foll.

soon as possible to get rid of Belgium, "as a millstone round the neck of Austria." Thugut's tools, in this matter, were his friend Prince Christian of Waldeck, chief of the staff and factotum of the Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Lower Rhine, and Prince Frederic Josias of Coburg. The latter, as Hormayr says, was a "*sancta simplicitas*, feeding on the heart, brain, and fat of Suwarow;" and he was entirely ruled by the Prince of Waldeck, "an intriguing and infamous man." As is now only too well known, not only from Hormayr, but also from the *Mémoires d'un Homme d'état*, part of which are attributed to Prince Hardenberg, the battle of Fleurus, on 26th June 1794, after having been all but won by the Austrians, was intentionally lost by the Princes of Waldeck and Coburg. Late in the evening, Coburg commanded a retreat. The ostensible pretext was, that he had only just before received the tardy intelligence of Charleroi, the key of the Netherlands, having surrendered to the French on the evening of the 25th. But Coburg had already known it in the morning, when he rode into the battle; and in fact, it was only the secret instruction from Thugut which made him voluntarily renounce the victory within his grasp. Both wings of the French were driven back behind the Sambre as early as mid-day, and even their centre was shaken; nothing was needed for the Austrians, but to bring up their numerous and excellent cavalry to break through the tottering main body of the enemy. This was not done; on the contrary, on the evening of the battle, a retreat was ordered upon Brussels. The action, in which a hundred thousand men were engaged on both sides from morning to evening, had cost the Austrians not more than 1541 men, and 41 officers. They had lost no cannon; indeed they had actually taken one. The consequences of this battle were of immeasurable importance. Yet the thousands which had fallen on both

sides had been mere "food for powder;" everything had been settled beforehand by the Cabinets.

The battle of Fleurus is one of the many facts which may serve to dispel the illusion, still so general, — even after the famous Holstein-Sleswick war, — that the fortune of arms turns the scale in politics. It is the pen which decides, not the sword: *the diplomatists dispose of the fate of nations; and quite naturally so, as the might of intellect must ever carry the day even after the victory of brute force.* But the venerable Austrian Field-Marshal Beaulieu, after that battle of Fleurus, threw down his sword on the table, at the farm of Lambusart; and, seeing through the infamous design, called out in his wrath, "May the devil take me, if ever I draw my sword again for him who has put me under the command of such wretches!"

Four border fortresses of Belgium, which had been purchased with streams of Austrian blood, were then sold by Austria to France for the paltry price of six million francs. The downfall of Robespierre only, immediately after the battle of Fleurus, prevented the Belgo-Bavarian project, to which the head of the French Jacobins had given his consent, from being realised. Had he remained at the helm, Austria would have concluded a separate* peace even before Prussia did so.

Thugut then commenced new negotiations concerning the extension of Austria in the west, as far as the river

* Prussia is always so bitterly reproached for having, the year after, concluded the separate Peace of Basle; but there is no doubt that at the time of the Battle of Fleurus, she was afraid of false play on the side of Austria. In a report from Coblentz, written by the Lord Chamberlain of the Elector of Treves, as quoted by the *Rheinische Antiquarius*, the following occurs, which has the more weight as the writer, Count Boos, was the agent of a completely neutral court: — "The Prussians are afraid lest the retreat of the Imperialists, as well on the Upper Rhine as in the Low Countries, *might be followed by a separate peace of the Emperor with the French*; especially as for some time a marked reserve was observable on the part of the Imperial Cabinet, and consequently *nothing could be concealed under it but a very important policy.*"

Lech. In some secret articles of the Peace of Campo Formio, the eventual cession of the Bavarian territory, as far as Wasserburg, in favour of Austria, was stipulated. Yet the chief gain for Austria in that peace, was not in Bavaria but in Italy, where, as an equivalent for Belgium, she received Venice. The manner in which Thugut intentionally led that ancient republic to its ruin, was again characteristic of the man. Thugut caused the Signory to be falsely informed that the French were in Tyrol and Styria—in fact, that they were as in the Caudine Forks. The republic fell into the snare. No sooner had Count Adam Neipperg—afterwards the husband in morganatic marriage of the widow of Napoleon—advanced with a small body of Tyrolese as far as Verona, than the Venetians allowed themselves to be deluded into that imprudent rising, which gave the French and Thugut—who were secretly agreed beforehand about the matter—a welcome opportunity of sacrificing the Republic of the Lagoons. Thus, in exchange for Belgium and Milan, Thugut acquired Venice, the possession of which had been one of the fondest wishes of Kaunitz. From this first peace with France, concluded at Campo Formio in 1797, Austria issued greater, more consolidated, and more compact, than she had ever been; but French and Austrian sentinels henceforth faced each other at the Adige.

Owing to Thugut's intense hatred, a sincere peace with France was completely out of the question. An unmistakable proof of this was given in the attack against the hotel of the French Embassy, on the 13th April, when the *Citoyen* Bernadotte for the first time had the tri-colour flag, with the words, "*Liberté! Egalité!*" floating from his balcony. Here Thugut showed how well he knew how to use for his own purposes that mob which he so heartily despised. From 40,000 to 50,000 people were crowding round the hotel of the French Embassy; the tri-colour was torn down, and stones thrown at the house; Bernadotte,

to intimidate the mob, had the street door opened, and showed himself with his secretary, each with sabre in hand. But they were forced to withdraw; a servant of the ambassador having fired at a man who wanted to force his way into the inner apartments, the people made a rush, destroyed the carriages in the court-yard, and the furniture and chandeliers in the rooms; and the ambassador, to save his life, had to barricade himself in one of the rooms. The riot lasted from six until eleven o'clock in the evening. At last, a battalion of Grenadiers and two troops of Cuirassiers succeeded with difficulty in restoring tranquillity. In the *Mémoirs d'un Homme d'état*, a letter of Bernadotte's is quoted in which, without any disguise, he speaks of Thugut as having been the mover of the attack against him. Bernadotte says that he had before applied to the Empress for the removal of Thugut from his office; and Thugut, to avoid the storm, had not scrupled "to try to put him (Bernadotte) out of the way, either by having him murdered, or at least insulted."

In 1799, just one year after this attempted murder, an infamous plot of the same kind was actually accomplished in the assassination of the French ambassadors at Rastadt.

There is every reason to believe, that Thugut had this revolting violation of the law of nations perpetrated by his old helpmate Count Louis Lehrbach, the Austrian Plenipotentiary at the Peace Congress. Thugut's confidants had long been wondering how it was that he employed Lehrbach on so many occasions, and that he everywhere put him forward, whereas that impetuous individual made no secret of his impatience to become Thugut's successor. Thugut then said to his secretaries, Heidfeld and Hübschle, "Oh! as to that man, there is no need for me to cut his throat; he will do it himself. I like to put a man forward whom I may hang any day." The attack against the three French ambassadors was made at their departure from Rastadt, several hundred yards beyond the

suburb, by Imperial troops — Szeckler Hussars, the private soldiers of which regiment are all of them Hungarian gentlemen. The Hussars had been directed to take from the ambassadors their papers, and to allow them to get off with a sound thrashing. But the ambassadors were murdered in the affray. Only one of them — Jean de Bry, who had the presence of mind to feign death, and who, covered with wounds, was left lying in the ditch by the road side — escaped, owing to the energetic help of the secretary of the Prussian Embassy Jordan, who afterwards became aide-de-camp to King Maximilian of Bavaria.

Thugut and Lehrbach did not, however, attain their end in this bloody crime, the object of which had been to find out from the papers of the French ambassadors whether Maximilian Joseph, the new Elector of Bavaria, had had any secret dealings with the enemy of the Empire; and how far the Court of Berlin was agreed with the French Directory. The French ambassadors, previous to their departure, had deposited all the important papers with the Prussian envoy, Count Görz. Thus the blood of the victims had been shed in vain.

The Emperor Francis then had a declaration published at the Diet of Ratisbon, in which he expressed his horror of this execrable deed, and at the same time promised that the matter should be strictly inquired into, and the perpetrators brought to condign punishment; the upshot of all of which was an inquiry, as the result of which it was stated *that a soldier's outrage had been committed in consequence of misunderstood orders.* With this, the matter was allowed to rest.

Count Lehrbach is described by Hormayr, as a man whose sole happiness consisted in gratifying his two ruling passions, brutality and sordid avarice. He was very fond of employing spies and counter spies, people who shrank from nothing. But he paid them shabbily, and treated them badly; the consequence of which was that they

cheated him. Thus, among others, he was taken in by Buonaparte's famous spy and police agent Schulmeister, an Alsatian, formerly a smuggler; who, however, in his new calling, earned 10,000 thalers (upwards of 1,100*l.*) a year; and who possessed the rarest adroitness, boldness and presence of mind, and — most wonderful to relate — was strictly faithful to those who paid him liberally. From this man, Hormayr received in December, 1805, at the time of Napoleon's stay at Schönbrunn, the most remarkable disclosures concerning the Rastadt catastrophe. "He said he had confirmed Lehrbach in the conviction that an important capture might be made with the ambassadors; but at the same time, he had caused the ambassadors to be warned that they should burn, with the strictest secrecy, all their important papers. *The Directory in France had been delighted at the murder*, for a threefold reason: in the first place, because it somewhat re-kindled the fanaticism of the nation and the army, which had begun to decline and to wear out; secondly, because it excited hatred and detestation against Austria; and lastly, because it had been of no use whatever to her, as not one scrap of the sought-for papers was found."

The Rastadt murder was speedily followed by the recommencement of war, which certainly was now conducted on the part of the French with increased exasperation.

Thugut had in the meanwhile joined the second coalition against France, which England had brought about with the Emperor Paul of Russia. Austrian craftiness was then very nearly outwitted by the "*Grecs du bas Empire.*"

The Emperor Paul, who had caused himself to be elected Grand Master of the Maltese Order, had occupied the Ionian Islands, and supported Naples. He now sent Suwarow with an army to Italy. *Russia's plan was to gain a firm footing in the Mediterranean; to snatch from Austria the protectorate of Italy; and especially to get into the rear of*

*the Turks, so as to be able to attack Constantinople on two sides.**

Suwarow had left St. Petersburg with the words; "I shall beat the French, and throw myself at the feet of your Majesty." He arrived on the 26th March, 1799, at Vienna, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy. But even his first interview with Thugut, at the official residence of the chancellor, showed that the two would not long be friends. Suwarow indeed, crossing himself again and again, in the Greek fashion, overwhelmed Thugut with bows and grins, whilst the States-chancellor, on his part, was also full of smiles and bows. After taking leave, the General, once more before entering his carriage, with great unction bowed almost to the ground. But the Austrian, who had accompanied the Russian only to the bottom of the staircase, did not see that after leaving him, Suwarow, as Hormayr says, "hastily executed all those innumerable signs and crosses which the Greek priests employ in exorcising the devil."

In Vienna, no one could fathom Suwarow, "that unexampled mixture of genius and madness, of penetration and grimace." Even Thugut, at that time, was not able to comprehend him, as he wrapped his plans in impenetrable mystery. But they soon unfolded themselves, when the Muscovite hero, after brilliant victories, wrested from the French the whole of Italy, with the exception of Ancona and Genoa; and, playing the master in the Italian peninsula, closely attached Sardinia to Russia, against the Austrian interest. Then the Russian intrigues in Montenegro showed that far more was aimed at than was expressed in the title of Italinsky which Suwarow's army gave him.

Thugut soon saw through the ultimate designs of the

* For this purpose, the Russian General Ivelich appeared, in 1799, in Montenegro, to induce the inhabitants of that state, as well as of Ragusa and the Bocche de Cattaro, *an Austrian possession*, to make their voluntary submission to Russia.

cabinet of St. Petersburg; and he was not behindhand in thwarting them. He left the Russians in the lurch in Italy, and deserted them on their line of retreat in Switzerland. The Archduke Charles, as early as in 1799, received orders to stop short in his victorious career in Switzerland; and to retire to the upper Rhine. Thus the second corps of the Russians under Korsakow was exposed near Zurich, and Suwarow was obliged to leave the scene of his victories to come to his assistance. The Russians, who had no idea of mountain warfare, thus got into a most difficult position—the very thing which Thugut had intended.

The friendship of Russia and Austria was then to be cemented by the marriage of a Russian Princess with an Austrian Archduke. The young Palatine Joseph was betrothed to Alexandra, the favourite daughter of the Emperor Paul. But when the marriage took place, on the 30th of October, 1799, the mutual exasperation of the two courts had already reached its highest pitch; Suwarow was just then making good his retreat through Bohemia.

Suwarow without having been allowed to throw himself at the feet of his Majesty, died in disgrace at St. Petersburg on the 18th of May, 1800, at the age of seventy-one. Four weeks after, on the 14th of June, Napoleon gained over Melas the victory of Marengo, by which he reconquered Italy. Now Paul at once changed from an enemy into the most ardent admirer of Napoleon; he sent to the victorious general an ambassador to negotiate an alliance with the French. A plan was mooted of driving, with united forces, the English from the East Indies. An army of 35,000 French, consisting merely of infantry with picked light artillery, engineers, *savants*, and mechanics of all sorts— a new edition of the expedition to Egypt,—was to embark with the Russian army on the Danube, and proceed by the Euxine and the Caspian Sea to the Indus.

The palace revolution of the 7th of March, 1801, removed the new ally of Napoleon. Nine days after, the Grand

Duchess Alexandra died in her first confinement. One month before the assassination of the Emperor Paul, Austria had made her peace with France. When Moreau, on the 3rd of December, 1800, had gained the great victory of Hohenlinden, General Prince Charles Schwarzenberg—afterwards the victorious Austrian Generalissimo at the battle of Leipzig—hastened to Vienna, and turned the scale against Thugut, whose "mad and ruinous obstinacy" he denounced in the strongest terms.

Whilst every body in Vienna knew that Moreau was near, the Emperor Francis had been kept completely in the dark. Thugut was now obliged to quit his post; and Count Louis Cobenzl concluded, on the 9th of February, 1801, with the conqueror of Marengo, the peace of Luneville.

Cobenzl then became State Chancellor. One evening only, Count Lehrbach—who had been entrusted, *ad interim*, with the *porte-feuille*—was allowed to hug himself in the flattering hope of becoming Thugut's successor. But Thugut, although out of office, retained sufficient influence to oust Lehrbach. The latter had caused his furniture to be hastily removed to the State-Chancellerie, which he expected to be his new official residence; but he was obliged to take it away again next morning. His part was played to the end.

Thugut resided for several years after his resignation on some large estates in Croatia, which the Emperor had granted him, and at Presburg. At a later period, he returned to Vienna. He still lived to see the downfall of the French Emperor; and died as late as 1818, at the advanced age of eighty. "He saw," says Hormayr, "only a few friends, mostly literary men. His dinners were short, but elegant; the conversation animated, easy, and polished. Whilst coffee was served, literary subjects might be introduced; the discussion, at first very spirited, would then slacken by degrees, until it died away altogether. Soon the whole company fell asleep, the master of the house last.

About the hour when the theatre of the Leopold Stadt began, the valet purposely slammed the door so as to awaken them; and then all went to be amused with the coarse ribaldry and the broad jokes of Casperl, the Vienna impersonation of Mr. Merryman.

The greatest injury done by Thugut's ministry was the check upon everything like intellectual progress. The censorship with regard to books was so absurdly restrictive, that there was not one of the great authors of Germany — Göthe, Schiller, Johannes Müller, Herder, Wieland, Lessing, or Jean Paul — who was not either prohibited altogether, or at least in part; but whoever had the money, might procure any of those most infamous French publications which disgraced the literature of that period, or also the English and French revolutionary writings of the time. The censorship of the stage was even more ridiculous. No piece which, in the remotest way, had any connection with politics, was allowed — not even Hamlet, Macbeth, Richard II., Richard III., King John, or Henry IV., — lest the people might become familiarised with the idea of kings and emperors being murdered. Of German plays, Mary Stuart was deemed an allusion to Marie Antoinette; Egmont, Fiesco, William Tell, or Wallenstein, provoked revolutions; and the immortal English bard's Merchant of Venice, was not to be performed, because it might lead to Jews' riots. The ministers, presidents, and Aulic Councillors, among the *dramatis personæ*, were degraded to the rank of lower officials (such as episcopal stewards); and the wicked characters were not allowed to be of higher rank than that of viscount (Freiherr); a count, therefore, was always a model of virtue and generosity.

Thugut, during the seven years that his ministry lasted, had reigned with absolute power. Talleyrand, in conversation, and even in despatches, used to call him "the Sovereign of Vienna."

The finances and the police were managed under him

by Francis Count Saurau, a man full of talent and energy, who, sharing his political principles and his philosophical and literary views, attached himself closely to him. In managing the foreign affairs, Thugut had — besides his ostensible ambassadors — at all important places secret agents and spies, none of whom knew of the other; yet, in great emergencies, he might count also on the services of men most distinguished by character and by ability. In many important diplomatic missions, he employed his young friend, Count Francis Dietrichstein, for whom he really had a sincere and affectionate regard, and who might have been his successor in 1801; but who declined, from a love of independence, a place for which his character and his ability would have fitted him. Dietrichstein, although only thirty-four years of age at the resignation of Thugut, quitted the public service altogether; and lived long in London, having married, in 1797, the Russian Countess Alexandrina Schuwalow. After Thugut's death, Dietrichstein erected, at his Castle of Nicolsburg in Moravia, a beautiful monument to his memory.

3. THE STATE CHANCELLORS COBENZL, 1801–1805, AND STADION, 1805–1809.— FREDERIC VON GENTZ.— THE ARCHDUKES CHARLES AND JOHN. — THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1805 AND 1809.

THUGUT was succeeded in his office by Count Louis Cobenzl; who held the *porte-feuille* from 1801 to 1805, that is to say, from the peace of Luneville, in which Austria paid its losses with territories belonging not to herself but to the German Empire, until the disastrous peace of Pressburg, when at last she had to pay with her own. This had happened only once — in the peace of Hubertsburg — since the days of Charles V. and Ferdinand I., who were obliged to leave half of Hungary to the Turks.

Count Louis Cobenzl, sprung from an ancient but poor Wendic House, of Carniola, was born at Brussels, in 1753; and had been a fellow student of Talleyrand, at the University of Strassburg. He rose, through Kaunitz, who particularly distinguished him; and he made his diplomatic career as ambassador at Copenhagen in 1772, at Berlin in 1777, and at last, since 1779, at St. Petersburg. In the last year, he married a lady, De la Novere, Countess of Montelabate, in Moravia.

"Cobenzl," says Hormayr, "had completely the head of a cat, with reddish-white hair, a high and broad forehead, and a complexion as white as chalk. He was of middle height; his body bloated and flabby; his blood, as it were, having been drained off by the excesses of his youth. He had small, squinting, and blinking eyes; but possessed the most accomplished *dehors* and *procédés*, and noble, high-bred, and winning manners. His ugliness was interesting, and even graceful. His squab figure was always in motion; for, although obese, he was very active. He was endowed with a cheerfulness scarcely ever ruffled, and with an irresistible love of fun, banter, and drollery. Like the Prince de Ligne, with whom he had many things in common, he showed in the midst of state and magnificence a pervading feature of cynicism; the likeness between them extending even to wearing, by preference, torn shirts and handkerchiefs. Being every inch a ladies' man, Count Louis could not live without women. His private affairs were in great disorder. He was kind-hearted, charitable, liberal, generous; hot-tempered, but forgiving; reckless, and yet as cunning as discreet."

The Russian insinuations that Bonaparte had paid Cobenzl's debts, and the statement made by the *Moniteur*, in 1805, that he had sold himself to England, have been refuted by Hormayr as vile calumnies. The whole amount of his learning consisted of a smattering of history and international law, which he had picked up at the lectures

of the celebrated Koch of Strassburg. Being, however, a true gentleman, he entertained no hatred against knowledge; on the contrary, his own deficiencies made him respect learning in others the more highly. He was rather an agreeable and shrewd courtier, than a statesman fitted to be the first minister of a great monarchy like Austria, at the time when it had to combat such an enemy as Napoleon. Cobenzl was thoroughly Frenchified; so that Menneval says of him, "*Il n'avait d'Allemand que le nom.*" He was completely dazzled by the first effulgence of Bonaparte's genius; but at the same time, he stood in tremendous awe of Russia. He had been ambassador at St. Petersburg for nearly twenty years, from 1779 to 1797, under Catherine and Paul, by the side of the French ambassador, Count Segur, and of Lord Londonderry. With the Czarina he was a very great favourite; he even belonged to the circle of her most intimate friends, and became her *maître de plaisirs.* He wrote small pieces for the small theatre of the Hermitage, in which he himself took a part. As he tried to forget every disagreeable despatch by composing a new comedy, Catherine once said to him, "Your best piece you will write when the French are in Vienna!" After his recall from St. Petersburg, he was employed in the negotiations of the Peace of Campo Formio, and of Rastadt. With Bonaparte he had had daily intercourse at Passeriano, and had been not a little cowed by his plebeian rudeness and Corsican vindictiveness. It was about that time that Napoleon took up a costly china cup, a present of the Czarina, and flung it at his feet, exclaiming, "Do you want war? Well, you shall have it, and your monarchy shall be smashed like this cup!" Cobenzl, after having concluded the Peace of Campo Formio in 1797, and that of Luneville in 1801, succeeded Thugut as State Chancellor. At the actual dissolution*

* The *actual* dissolution was the passing of the *Reichs-deputations-hauptschluss* (Resolution of the Imperial Deputation), i. e. the settlement made,

of the old German Empire in 1803, he acquired for Austria Brixen and Trent. From the conflict of his fears, both of Napoleon and of Russia, many otherwise inexplicable things may be accounted for, which happened from 1803 to 1805. "Never did the sun shine upon such a vile ministry as this. Every feeling of duty or shame is stifled in their brutish souls; their very breath is villany, and their sweat infamy." This passage occurs in a letter of Gentz to Johannes von Müller, dated 12th August, 1805. Gentz had settled at Vienna in 1803.

Frederic von Gentz, afterwards so celebrated as Metternich's right-hand man, was born at Breslau in 1764. He was originally in the civil service of Prussia; at last, as War-Councillor* at the "General Directorium" at Berlin, where his father was Master of the Mint. His mother was of the Ancillon family.† At the age of twenty-one, he married the daughter of the Ædile Councillor Von Gilly, of Königsberg, when he had studied under the celebrated philosopher Immanuel Kant; but was divorced from her within the first year of their marriage, on account of disagreements with her family. He started in public life as a Liberal. At the accession of King Frederic William III., in 1797, he wrote an address—most earnestly disavowed by him in later years—in which he zealously defended the claims of the people to a free press.

under mediation of Russia and France, by a committee (deputation) of the old Imperial Diet. The "deputation" sat from 24th August, 1802, to 10th May, 1803, on which day it passed its final resolution (Schluss). The resignation of the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, which Francis II. enacted on the 6th August, 1806, was in fact a mere matter of form, owing to which his title changed from Francis II., Emperor of the Romans, into Francis I., *Emperor of Austria.* — *Transl.*

* This is not a military but a financial office, which has nothing whatever to do with the army. — *Transl.*

† This family fled from France for religion's sake, in the times of the Dragonnades; the well-known Prussian minister of state of that name belonged to it. — *Transl.*

His eminent talents, and especially his great eloquence and conversational powers — by which, like Mirabeau, he was even more distinguished than by his ability as a writer — soon paved the way for him to the best society in Berlin; to which he eventually gained entrance principally through his connection with one of the most celebrated political ladies of that time, styled the Princess of Eybenberg. This beautiful and clever woman was the daughter of a Jewish merchant of Berlin, of the name of Meyer. Contemporaries, among others Varnhagen, describe her as an elegant and lively lady, of a superior mind, and of cool worldly calculation, which never allowed her to lose sight of her own interest, or of what she owed to her own character in the eyes of the world. The most distinguished men, among others Göthe, had been in love with her. Count Bernstorf, afterwards Prussian minister, who loved her tenderly and passionately, gave up reluctantly, and with great grief, the hope of ever being able to marry her. At a later period, she was secretly married to Prince Reuss, a good and honest man, but her senior by many years, and remarkably ugly. This marriage was made public in 1799, after the death of the prince. The family then induced her, "for a goodly consideration," to drop the title of Dowager Princess of Reuss, to which she had an incontestable right, and to style herself Princess of Eybenberg instead. Gentz married her in the same year. This marriage, which Hormayr expressly asserts to have taken place, remained a secret in Berlin and Vienna, although such a transparent one that, even as late as 1811, the "Genealogical State Manual" (Staatshandbuch), mentions Gentz as the husband of the Princess Eybenberg. It is true that Gentz disavowed it even in his letters to such intimate friends as Rahel Varnhagen, as "the most unfounded and stupid of all rumours." Gentz separated from her; but always retained great interest for her. She died before her second husband, after

having suffered great losses by lawsuits, notwithstanding which she remained, to her death in 1814, one of the most highly considered ladies in Vienna.

Gentz, after his second marriage, devoted himself to literature, and to the study of English politics, and especially finance. It was at that time, that he wrote his *Essai de l'Administration des Finances de la Grande Bretagne*, which made his name known in England; and although he was still in the Prussian service, he drew a pension from the Austrian Government, and wrote at its bidding. This ambiguous position by and by became inconvenient; and Gentz left Berlin for ever, on the 20th of June, 1802. Cobenzl had called him to Vienna, at the recommendation of Count Philip Stadion, at that time Austrian ambassador in Berlin, to whom Gentz had been introduced by the Princess Eybenberg. Gentz was appointed Imperial Aulic Councillor, on extraordinary service, with a salary of 4000 florins, for which he had no other duties to perform, but—as was stated in Cobenzl's letter to him—"to work by his writings for the maintenance of government, of morality, and public order." Gentz then left Vienna once more, in September, 1802, and went to Dresden, where Metternich, whose acquaintance he had made before, was then ambassador. From Dresden he accompanied the English ambassador, Lord Elliot, to England. He remained in London for three months, became acquainted with the most influential men of all parties, and formed a very important connection with Mr. Pitt. The English cabinet, to all intents and purposes, took him secretly into their pay, to employ his pen in cementing in due time coalitions on the continent against Napoleon. He was paid a handsome sum as a first instalment, and had a yearly pension of 800*l.* assured him. Gentz now returned to Vienna, in 1803, where from that time he established his permanent residence.

The principal idea for which he then contended was

an alliance with Prussia against France. In a memoir written by him, and dated 6th of September, 1804, the following passage occurs: — "*A sincere alliance between Austria and Prussia is Germany's last and even dying hope. The great Germanic League would oppose a permanent barrier to the most dangerous of all political combinations, the union between France and Russia.*"

In a letter to Johannes Müller, of the 6th of July, 1805, he writes on the same subject: "I feel just as much as you do, that the subjection of the whole of Germany under two rulers, is in reality an ugly achievement of despotism. But it is only despair which has suggested such an expedient to me; for you will allow that it would be better to obey two German despots, or even one, than, worst of all, to be ill-used by Frenchmen and Russians, who are immeasurably our inferiors." In a letter of the 23rd of December of the same year, he again reverts to the bi-partition of Germany: "You were astonished that I should have wished Germany to be divided (between Austria and Prussia); not indeed, I assure you, from a predilection for large monarchies, but merely as a choice of the lesser of two evils. If to-day you restore me Germany again as it was in the year '89, but at the same time give me security that France on one side, and Russia on the other, shall not swallow it up within the next two years; you may put me down as a perpetual subscriber to that Germany."

When, in 1806, the relations between Prussia and France assumed a more and more threatening form, Gentz remained behind at Dresden, for the express purpose of assisting the Prussian Cabinet with his advice, through Johannes von Müller. He even followed the Prussian army into the camp of Erfurt, where he was in constant correspondence with those most profligate ministers, Haugwitz, Lucchesini, and Lombard. Two of the most important literary productions of Gentz date from that time, "The Secret History of the Beginning of the War of

1806;" and "The Prussian Manifesto of the 9th October, 1806," the former, a masterpiece as to style and substance, was a memoir written for the English court. For the Manifesto, Napoleon caused him to be pursued by disguised gensd'armes, and would have had shot him as he did Palm, the Erlangen publisher, if Gentz had not succeeded in escaping from Dresden to Bohemia.

The first business of Gentz on his return to Vienna in 1803, was getting money for the government; for which purpose he had to write one memoir after the other, to allay the scruples and doubts of the most important moneyed firms at Hamburg, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and London. Nor did Gentz forget his own interest. When he calculated the sums brought from England according to the German standard, he thought he would never see the end of his money, and threw it away on all sides. It was one of the characteristics of this remarkable man, that he whose mind was vast enough to conceive the grandest ideas, was a slave to all the petty and most foppish wants of dandyism and Sybarite elegance. *

Under the Cobenzl ministry, the popularity of the two Archdukes, Charles and John, reached its height.

The Archduke Charles was at that time little past thirty, a small, spare, sickly-looking man. But on him the hopes of Austria rested. He was born in 1771, at Florence, and had been adopted by Maria Theresa's favourite daughter the Archduchess Christina, his aunt, who had no children of her own. With her and her husband Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, he went to the Netherlands. At the outbreak of the French revolutionary war, Charles earned his spurs under Prince Hohenlohe, and was present at the battle of Jemappes, which the Duke Albert lost

* One of his fancies was letter paper, of which he used always to have a large and most varied assortment in stock,—English note paper, Dutch superfine post, Prague impermeable, and an endless variety of other "papeterie de boudoir."

against Dumouriez. In 1794, he was appointed Governor General of the Netherlands; and in 1796, he took the command of the army of the Lower Rhine. After the peace of Campo Formio, in 1797, when the Netherlands were ceded to France, he became Governor of Bohemia. In 1799, when war broke out again, he gained in Swabia the two noble victories of Ostrach and Stockach, and advanced as far as Zurich. Then he received from Thugut those orders — dictated by diplomacy, but running counter to all rules of warfare — owing to which he had to leave Suwarow in the lurch. Disgusted with playing the part of an automaton, the Archduke laid down the command, and returned to Prague. After the Peace of Luneville, he was entrusted with the Presidency of the Aulic Council of War, when the task of reorganising the army devolved upon him. He was at that time most enthusiastically beloved by the people, a feeling which was very strongly manifested in the general sympathy shown to him during a dangerous illness which then befell him. The people good-naturedly expected of him, as Hormayr said, "restoration of the finances, and reorganisation of the army," the expenses of which were immense, amounting, in 1804, to not less than forty-three million florins.

Gentz in a letter to Johannes Müller, of the 6th July, 1805, writes: "The Archduke Charles is averse to the war, in a degree which no one would believe, if one had not daily proofs of it; *he would have opposed war under any circumstances, even if the French had taken Venice and demanded the Tyrol for themselves.*" This peaceful disposition of the Archduke, as far back as in 1801, divided the Court into two parties, the peace party, headed by the Archduke Charles; and the war party, comprising the Cabinet Ministers — Colloredo, Cobenzl, Collenbach; the Empress Theresa; the cream of the aristocracy, especially the Lady Victoria Poutet Colloredo; and the bureaucracy. This division became the main stay of the English-

Russian hopes of a third coalition against France, which at last it actually called into life.

The Archduke Charles was a brave general, but a very short-sighted politician; and in the conduct of affairs, he allowed himself to be completely guided and tyrannised over by the worst of men. Gentz, in stating this, alludes especially to two persons, Fassbender and Duca. Fassbender had, in former times, been a professor at Treves; yet, as he had been appointed only by favour, he had first to go to Göttingen, and there attend the lectures of the celebrated Pütter on public law and history. Pütter, at the first visit of the student professor, said to him, "But at what school do the other professors of the university of Treves study?" Being appointed director of the War Office in Vienna, he knew just as little of the business of his new situation as he did of public law and history when he was appointed to teach it as a professor. Duca, the other creature of Archduke Charles, was his quartermaster general. Of him Gentz writes, "*It exceeds all belief what this villain has done to disorganise the army.* Had not the monarchy been relieved of him, it would have been irretrievably lost. *To make war was an utter impossibility;* and it is now proved beyond a doubt that if Bonaparte had attacked us in February, 1805, nothing could have prevented him from being in eight days in Vienna. *For six weeks, not* 15,000 *men could have been opposed to him.*"

Another very popular man during the period between the Peace of Luneville and the third coalition of 1805, was the Archduke John, born in 1782, at Florence; since 1801, director-general of the Engineer Corps; and since 1802, joined as *ad latus* (adjunct) to his brother Charles. He was in Vienna what Prince Louis was in Berlin; from whom, however, he greatly differed in temper, morality, self-control, and learning. The treatment which they received, each at his court, was likewise very different.

Whilst Prince Louis in Berlin was allowed only too much liberty, the Court of Vienna did its utmost to stultify the Archduke John, and to withdraw him from pursuits which those in power wished to keep beyond his range. The very qualities of the young Archduke made him obnoxious to his brother the Emperor Francis; who, with his mind full of suspicion and jealousy, and his heart full of envy, was only too easily prejudiced by designing intriguers against both his brothers, Charles and John. Francis was so distrustful of John that, from 1805 to the death of Francis, the Archduke was not once allowed to tread the soil of the Tyrol, so dearly beloved by him; and even as late as 1813, a plan was imputed to him of having wanted to make himself king of Rhætia. He, the director-general of Engineers, and frequently acting Minister of War, had very often to apply in vain for papers from the War Archives. The bureaucrats frankly stated that it would not be safe to let him have what he wanted; in doing which they good-humouredly quoted the Emperor's own favourite adage: "*Knowing too much only gives people a head-ache.*"

Cobenzl, wavering between fear of the Russians and fear of Napoleon, succeeded in staving off a crisis until 1805; then the Russian-English influence at last prevailed, and in the summer of that year, the third coalition against the new Emperor of the French was cemented. There were riots at that time in Vienna. "The suburbs of Vienna," Gentz wrote to Müller on the 6th of July, 1805, "have for several days continued in a state of ferment. The whole military force has been out. Yesterday and to-day, several men have been killed, or severely wounded. It is the high price of bread which has caused these disorders." Under such auspices the war began. The command of the main army, which was assembled in Italy and amounted to 120,000 men, was given to the Archduke Charles. The command of the army in

Germany, of 80,000 men, was held by Baron Charles Mack.

Mack was a native of Franconia. Patronised by old Lascy, he rose from a non-commissioned officer, in 1790, to the post of chief of the staff; and a year after, he was made a baron. Afterwards he became chief of the general staff, under the Duke of Coburg, in the revolutionary wars on the Rhine. He and his beautiful wife made a great figure at Brussels. Among the *habitués* of their house was Prince Schwarzenberg, who, at that time a very young cavalry officer, received his first polish from Mack and his wife.

In 1794, Mack was entrusted with a mission to London; and the English, who, to further their own interest, which was for war, extolled and exaggerated Mack's military qualities to the sky, did not a little contribute to get up for him the character of a great hero. George III. presented him with a sword, the value of which was estimated at 80,000 florins; its hilt being of gold, studded with diamonds. In 1798, Mack was sent by the Court of Vienna to the Neapolitans as a general against the French. There he was forced, by a Lazzaroni riot, to take refuge in the French camp; and was taken as a prisoner of war to Paris, from whence, after the Rastadt murder, he succeeded in making his escape. Gentz, in a letter of the 3rd November, 1805, calls him "a weak, maudlin, almost base character, a mind without any true energy, full of wrong-headed, shallow ideas, twisted and distorted by old revolutionary tendencies."

"Mack and Collenbach, and the Russian ambassador Winzingerode," Gentz likewise wrote to Müller, "held to the unhallowed project of keeping the Russian subsidiary army for two months near the Prussian frontier, to force Prussia to join in the coalition, and in the war. Prussia, however, did not allow herself to be forced."

And now followed the catastrophe of the disgraceful

" Hundred days " of 1805. In the course of a few days, a handful of French under Ney conquered the Tyrol, against an Austrian army by far superior to them in numbers, which, however, offered scarcely any resistance. After the peace of Luneville, in 1801, the Archduke John had asked to be appointed Governor General of that province; and had proposed a comprehensive and exeellent plan for its defence, by a line of fortifications, and by establishing a system of a national armed foree; yet not the slightest notice was taken of his ideas and plans.

Mack, whom Cobenzl and Collenbaeh had deelared to be a man equal to any task, and whom they had therefore placed at the head of the army in Germany, committed the greatest blunders even at the very outset of the campaign. Instead of stopping at the frontiers of Austria, on the banks of the Inn, where he might have been joined by the Russians fourteen days sooner, and would only have been reached by the advaneing French army fourteen days later; he invaded Bavaria; aroused the Eleetor, to whom, however, he left time to withdraw his army; and took a position on the Upper Danube near Ulm. Here he was surrounded by two French divisions, the one under Bernadotte, the other under Napoleon himself. That the French under Bernadotte should have presumed to traverse with 70,000 men the neutral Prussian territory of Ansbaeh, Mack considered a wicked lie, in which delusion he was cleverly confirmed by Napoleon's spy, Schulmeister. The seeond Freneh army, likewise of 70,000 men under the command of Napoleon himself, marched through Würtemberg to meet Mack near the Danube. Napoleon had said at Stuttgardt: " if the Austrians remain in their position near Ulm, my work will soon be done." And they actually did remain! Maek having neglected the opportunity of taking a position near Nördlingen; Napoleon, marching round by the Leeh, got in his rear, and thus cut him off from the Russians, whilst

Mack was still expecting his attack on the side of the Black Forest. He now established himself in the city of Ulm. The Archduke Ferdinand tried to escape with the cavalry to Bohemia; but after several engagements with Murat, he succeeded in reaching that country with only half of his division of 18,000 men. The whole of Mack's fine army of 80,000 was now lost; and the way lay open to Vienna. Mack capitulated on the 7th of October, 1805, with not less than 25,000 men. In his very energetic proclamation, he had boasted that if matters came to the worst, his army would feed on their horses; but the animals, to the number of 3,000, now fell alive into the hands of their conquerors. When Napoleon reproached Mack, his prisoner, for the policy of his Emperor, the weak-minded general made the most puerile and humiliating confession which could ever have been recorded. He said to Napoleon, "*My Emperor did not wish for war; he has been forced into it by Russia.*" Napoleon immediately and with full justice replied: "*Dans ce cas vous n'êtes plus une puissance!*"

Mack was brought before a court martial, and was condemned to death; but the Emperor commuted his punishment to imprisonment in a fortress for twenty years. He was however liberated in 1808, received back his orders and his pension as a field marshal lieutenant, and was allowed, in 1819, to appear again at Court. He died in 1828, at St. Pölten.

The same bewilderment and infatuation which led Mack to stop at Ulm, was rife also among the people at Vienna. Old Prince Charles Auersperg, who, it is true, was all but in his second childhood, not only neglected to burn the Tabor bridge near Vienna; but also, when Lannes and Murat got up a story that peace had been concluded, allowed himself to be so completely duped by it, as in person to lead the French van-guard over that bridge. The Austrian troops of the Prince even turned out to

salute the French, until the latter mustered strong enough to pounce upon them and make them prisoners.

On the 13th of November, 1805, Napoleon took up his quarters at Schönbrunn, as he did not dare to reside in Vienna itself. The temper of the people was by no means friendly to the conqueror. Napoleon only ventured, with Savary and Schulmeister, to perambulate the strects of the capital in the evening: but he every time chose a different part of the city for these walks; and he was accompanied at some distance by French and Austrian police spies, the latter of whom had been expressly selected by the Aulic Councillor, Ley, the director of the Vienna police, who had to answer for them with his head.

The Emperor Francis had fled to Olmütz, where he was joined, on the 18th of November, by the Russian Czar. The war of the three Emperors continued for some time longer. At last, on the 2nd of December, 1805, Napoleon won, in the "Three Emperors' Battle" near Austerlitz, a victory even more brilliant and important than that of Marengo. Two days after this battle, the meeting of Napoleon with Francis took place on the open high road. The German Emperor went in person to the head quarters of the Emperor of the French to sue for peace. He went accompanied only by his aide-de-camp, and, as Gentz says, "with his *usually piteous, but now more than ever decayed appearance*, whilst Napoleon, in receiving him, was surrounded by all his generals, chamberlains, masters of ceremonies, and the whole pomp of majesty. *Napoleon pardoned Francis; Napoleon promised him peace.*"

Francis, after this most uncomfortable meeting, merely said, in his Vienna jargon, "Now, that I have seen him, I can't bear him at all."

The people of Austria had for a Christmas gift the Peace of Pressburg; which was concluded on the 25th of December, 1805. This peace, which was received at

Vienna with exultation, took from the monarchy neither more nor less than all its bulwarks in the south and in the west: Venice and Dalmatia fell to Napoleon; the faithful Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Brixen, and Trent to Bavaria; the Upper Swabian Province to Würtemberg; and the Marquisate of Breisgau to Baden; and yet, says Hormayr, the Vienna sybarites were loud in exclaiming: "It is fortunate that those beastly * countries are gone, which never yielded anything, and implicated us in all sorts of foreign quarrels. Now we are compact and snug; and that is the principal point. A sincere and close alliance with his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon may make us greater than we ever have been."

Even the Archduke Charles, who, two days after the conclusion of the peace, met Napoleon at the post-house of Stammersdorf, one stage from Vienna, was enchanted with him. Gentz had mentioned, as far back as the 3rd of November of that year, in a letter to Johannes von Müller, that in "the Archduke's opinion, *it would be criminal to try to make head against Napoleon.*"

Gentz wrote to the same correspondent in those terrible days, even before peace was concluded: — "Of the disposition which prevails here you may form an idea, as you witnessed similar storms in 1797 and 1800. But this time things are much more awful. The scum of Vienna — *I am speaking of the high nobility and the ministers* — only look to the immediate future, of which I am utterly regardless. May the devil take us by all means as soon as we deserve no longer to exist. But they have scarcely any feeling whatever about what has just happened — about that which is only terrible. The Austrian cabinet is sunk into complete lethargy. Now the incapacity, the inanity, nay, the infamy of this ministry, appears before the world in all its appalling nature. They are the same

* The German expression is the coarsest in the language.

as they have ever been. With them nothing great can be done either in the cabinet or in the field. And yet, even now, there would be a possibility of saving us: indeed, I do not despair altogether; Colloredo (the old cabinet minister) at least is actually dismissed. For the last two days (the letter is dated 22nd November), the others also have begun to shake; but all is so rotten and corrupt, that unless the whole be cast away, there is no reasonable hope. Those vilest of the vile do not care if Napoleon only leaves them Vienna. At Troppau, the Minister of Finance, Zichy, said in my presence, 'At the price of the Tyrol, Venice, and part of Upper Austria, peace is cheaply bought.' Ah! if those fellows only were ruined, there would be good cause for delight in the downfall of the monarchy — *but to lose the provinces, honour, Germany, Europe, and to be doomed to keep the Zichys, the Ugartes, the Cobenzls, the Collenbachs, the Lambertis, the Dietrichsteins; not to have any satisfaction or revenge, not to see any of those dogs hanged or quartered: that is more than a man can swallow.*" On the 14th December of the same year, Gentz wrote from Breslau: — "Germany . . . . tyrannised over by the French, sneered at and execrated by the Russians. Last evening, I was at the Princess Dolgorucki's. I shall never forget the evening as long as I live. There were present, General Bennigsen, two other Generals, Prince Peter Dolgorucki, — who to-day goes to Berlin, and who is one of the most intellectual and well bred Russians,—besides four or five young officers. Armfeldt (the Swedish ambassador at the Court of Vienna) and I were the only ones present who were not Russians. Peter Dolgorucki related with great spirit and vivacity the whole history of the days before and after the battle of Austerlitz, his mission to Bonaparte, his conversation with him, and a number of most important and interesting facts. It was quite natural that he should not have spared the Austrians; and as no one can feel on

the subject more keenly than Armfeldt and I do, we went a great part of the way with him; but by degrees it became insupportable, not only to myself, but even to Armfeldt. The unmitigated wrath with which the whole of this company — possessing only too powerful an influence on the greatest affairs of the world — expatiated on their desire of punishing, striking, annihilating the Austrians, opened to us a glimpse into the future which made us shudder. At last, however, we were revolted besides — and I more than can be described — *at the blind, stupid, impudent national pride, with which they attacked Germany, where, as they said, 'there was nothing to be found but traitors and cowards.'* I know well that we have scarcely a right, as Germans, to plume ourselves on our character; *our rulers have taken care of that:* but when one considers what the Russians are in comparison with us; when for two months one has, to one's sorrow, been a witness of *how, notwithstanding the bravery of their troops, they are not able to do anything against the French,* how, in reality, they have made our affairs rather worse than better; in short, when one is to be insulted and despised by those who have not had even the merit of saving us; then one feels very deeply one's own misery."

"Next to cold, death*, and the French, there is nothing I hate so thoroughly as the Russians. I despise the Austrians, I feel indignant at them: but after all I pity them; and if I see them insulted by those barbarians, my German heart sickens, and I feel that the Austrians are still our brethren."

In another letter of Gentz to Müller, dated from Dresden, 21st of April, 1806, the conduct of Alexander after the battle of Austerlitz is characterised in a very remarkable manner. Gentz writes: "Your opinions of the Russian Court are completely incomprehensible to me.

* Gentz had the same morbid fear of death as Prince Kaunitz.

You have, forsooth, seen all those despicable wretches, — I think you have even spoken with some of them. Under what spell are you labouring? What are the achievements of these men? What has been all their conduct from the accession of this Emperor but an uninterrupted series of the most absurd measures? Don't you know the history of Austerlitz? I am sure you don't. You do not know that *in reality the battle of Austerlitz was lost only four days after the 2nd of December.* You do not know that Alexander and his counsellors *have alone to answer for the Prussian army not having commenced hostilities.* Notwithstanding all the infamies which H. (Haugwitz) had committed in Vienna — and for these also Alexander alone is to blame, who could and ought to have excluded him; — notwithstanding the underhand treaty of the 15th of December, the Prussians would have marched, *had not the Emperor of Russia been completely bewildered, and literally run away.*" Gentz summed up his opinion on the three "Eagle Powers," in a letter to Müller, dated from Dresden, on the 4th of May, 1806: "*Austria, Russia, and Prussia, as now governed, are completely incapable of doing any good, and each of them incapable in the same degree. To blind ourselves to the baseness of the Great Powers, and to their moral inanition, would be extremely dangerous; to share it, would be vile.*"

On the 4th of August, Gentz wrote to Müller his views concerning the new organisation of Austria: — "The Emperor must lay down, with dignified resignation, the crown of the German Empire; Vienna must cease to be a capital; the German states should be considered as mere dependencies, as border provinces; the seat of government ought to be established far away in Hungary, which is to have a new Constitution. With Hungary, Bohemia, Gallicia, and what remains of German lands, one may hold out against the whole world, if one has only the will. Fiume and Trieste must be saved or reconquered at any price; other-

wise the state has no outlet to the sea. But in truth, if people will not separate themselves from the Prater, from Laxenburg, from the Ridotto, all is lost."

The Confederation of the Rhine having been proclaimed by Napoleon on the 1st of August, 1806, Francis resigned the title of Emperor of Germany, to assume the new one of Emperor of Austria.

The *porte-feuille* of State Chancellor passed from the hands of Cobenzl into those of Count Philip Stadion; who held it from the unfortunate Peace of Pressburg, in 1805, to the still more unfortunate one of Vienna, in 1809. Cobenzl died at Vienna, in 1808.

The Stadions were originally a Grison family, which, in the latter times of the Hohenstaufens, emigrated to Swabia. At the time of Maximilian I., Christopher von Stadion, a friend of the Emperor's, was bishop of Augsburg. Ever since the seventeenth century, the Stadions have held a very distinguished position under the Elector of Mayence. In 1705, John Philip, the great grandfather of the State Chancellor, was raised to the dignity of a Count of the Empire.

"Dalberg, the celebrated coadjutor of Mayence," as Hormayr writes, "took a very lively interest in the education of Philip, and of his elder brother Frederic. The two brothers studied at the University of Göttingen. Both of them were thoroughbred aristocrats, enemies of the revolution, but, throughout life, partisans of reform. Even as late as 1803, Dalberg intended to make Frederic Stadion his coadjutor; in 1806 only, he selected Cardinal Fesch for the post. Frederic Stadion became ambassador at Ratisbon, and afterwards at Munich. Philip Stadion, born at Mayence in 1763, in his earlier years reminded one very much of Joseph II. He was an aristocrat *par excellence;* so much so that he blushed when at Court some knight of an order, not a nobleman, came near him. He always used to say, "a *parvenu* never stops in push-

ing himself forward." His accession to the Ministry was the advent of a freer government. Every thing was done to raise the popular enthusiasm, and to rouse the patriotic feeling of the people. The Leopold's Order was founded as a reward for merit of every kind, without distinction of birth or religion. The Emperor, accompanied by the beautiful new Empress, Ludovica, of Modena, — whom he had married in 1808, one year after the death of the Neapolitan Theresa, — made a progress through all the provinces.

Stadion's principal endeavour was Germany's emancipation from the French yoke. He succeeded in imparting to the contest against France a national and European interest. Austria declared war, *although Russia sided with Napoleon.*

The enthusiasm, at that time, in Austria was even more intense than in 1813. Frederic von Gentz wrote the manifesto of war. Archduke Charles once more took the command-in-chief of the army. The idea of arming the people at large was carried into execution; the Vienna volunteers were called out, and the militia (Landwehr) enrolled. The armed forces of Austria amounted to 500,000 men, including 200,000 reserve, depôts, and militia. Archduke Charles issued a proclamation addressed to the whole of the German nation. His original plan was rapidly to push on through Bohemia and Franconia; but his opinion was overruled, and the march into Bavaria by the direct road decided upon. Instead, however, of suddenly invading and disarming this latter country, the Austrian army advanced only slowly; allowing the Bavarians quietly to depart, and to join Napoleon, who was, in all haste, returning from Spain. Baron Stein, the celebrated Prussian ex-minister, who, after having been exiled by French influence from his own country, had found an asylum at Brünn, in Austria, wrote to Gneisenau, on the 20th of April, 1809: — "I am afraid lest *cunctando per-*

didimus rem. The flight of the eagle is met by the pace of the snail, which, it is true, never stumbles." All the measures, quietly prepared by Stadion, proved insufficient. The commander-in-chief also began to waver, and committed grievous blunders; and on the 20th of April, the main army, conducted by Charles into Bavaria, was utterly routed by Napoleon at Eckmühl. When the Archduke, escaping from the horrors of the battle-field in a well-closed travelling carriage, complained to General Lindenau, who had been attached to him as his military adviser, "But what will the people of Vienna say of us?" the General is said to have answered, "Well, what can they say, but *that your Imperial Highness has been a young fool, and I an old ass.*"

The army was obliged to retreat behind the Danube, to the Bohemian forests; and Ratisbon surrendered on the 23rd of April. When the aide-de-camp, Count Max Auersperg, on the 25th, brought this distressing news to Schärding, to the ante-room of the Emperor; Stadion, almost swooning, sank into a chair and exclaimed, "*A présent tout est perdu! mon Dieu, mon Dieu, tout est perdu!*" In his despair, he already saw the enthusiasm of the nation cooled, and the campaign lost in a single battle.

On the 10th of May, Napoleon arrived at Schönbrunn; on the 12th, Vienna capitulated. Napoleon then established his head-quarters two leagues from Vienna, at Schlögelhof, a château at Kaisers-Ebersdorf on the Danube, where, for several weeks, he superintended the construction of the large field-works on the islet of Lobau, and the preparations for the battles of Aspern and Wagram. For the first time, Napoleon was defeated by Archduke Charles in the battles of Aspern and Esslingen (21st and 22nd of May). It was the first discomfiture on a large scale after seventeen victorious great actions.

Hormayr, in his posthumous fragment, "Francis and

Metternich," gives some very remarkable disclosures concerning the battle of Aspern and the then state of feeling in the army of the Archduke. He received his information personally from no less an authority than Prince John of Liechtenstein, "the first soldier of the battle of Aspern." The Archduke Charles, being obliged, after the battle of Eckmühl and of Ratisbon, to retreat to Bohemia, wrote to Napoleon from Neumarkt a letter replete with fulsome compliments, which, besides being false, were in the very worst taste. The epistle ran thus: —

"SIRE,

"Your Majesty has announced to me your arrival with the roar of cannon, without leaving me time to compliment you. Hardly informed of your presence, I could guess it from the havoc which you have inflicted on me. You have taken a good many men from me, Sire. My troops also have made some thousands of prisoners on the points where you were not yourself present.

"I propose to your Majesty to exchange them man for man, each in his rank; and if this proposal meets with your approbation, I beg you will let me know your pleasure concerning the place where these exchanges may be effected.

"I feel flattered, Sire, at having to combat against the greatest captain of the age. How happy should I be if it were my good fortune to ensure to my country the blessings of a lasting peace. Whatever the vicissitudes of war or the chances for peace may be, I beg your Majesty to believe that my ambition will ever draw me towards you; and that I feel equally honoured whether having to meet your Majesty sword in hand or with the olive branch."

Napoleon detained the bearer of this letter as a prisoner of war. "He would," said he, "allow no more parleying; *and there was no longer an Emperor of Austria, but only princes of Lorraine, rebel subjects of the crown of France.*"

From Linz, some time after, he wrote to Davoust: "I really do not know whether or not I shall give an answer to their farrago. *This is the way with these folks. At the least ray of hope, they are all superciliousnesss; and at the first reverse, cringing and cowardly again!*"—and certainly he had not judged too harshly. When Napoleon—having, after the battle of Aspern, become more yielding—agreed to the exchange of prisoners; Count Charles Zichy, the Austrian minister of war, wrote to a correspondent (May 20th, 1809): "Hurrah! The flag of truce is admitted; *the Emperor of Austria is acknowledged again.*"

Prince John of Liechtenstein, and his quarter-master-general, Francis Radetzky, themselves informed Hormayr that at Aspern, owing to Massena's heroic resistance, the dispositions for the retreat of the Austrians were already decided upon; when Prince John rode up in a rage, slouching his tattered hat over his eyes, and shouting: "How is this? retreat? Nonsense! Why, the battle is won. The enemy is leaving the field and crossing the river!" At this warning, the congratulations began and there was no end to them; so that no one even thought of securing the fruits of the victory.

Both belligerent parties were as it were stupified by the battle of Aspern. Austria, instead of following up her advantage, concluded a truce. The army marched to Hungary, where, after a short time, 60,000 men were ill with marsh fever; on which the Emperor Francis had every preparation made for embarking his Imperial person and private treasure at Fiume for England.

Napoleon at Aspern, for the first time in his life, lost his presence of mind; crossing the Danube among the execrations of his own soldiers, he returned to his old head quarters at the château of Kaisers-Ebersdorf. Here he slept one unbroken sleep for thirty hours, after having given strict orders that he should not be disturbed. The danger was so pressing during this long sleep, that his

generals had a secret consultation in which it was determined that, in case of Napoleon's being killed or made prisoner, Eugène Beauharnois, the viceroy of Italy, should be entrusted with the chief power, to conclude a general peace and to lead back the army to France; so that, for once, they might enjoy their ease in the bosom of their families. Nay, in those critical moments the question was even mooted, whether they had not better deliver up Napoleon to the English at Fiume, dead or alive. The secret clubs in the French army were in correspondence with Fouché and Talleyrand; who had become Napoleon's deadly enemies ever since he had, at Tilsit, come to an understanding with the Russians. On the news of the defeat of Aspern and of the thirty hours' sleep at Kaisers-Ebersdorf, Fouché wrote back from Paris, "What! such is the state of affairs, and you expect us here in Paris to make the beginning? If you have but a dozen resolute men, you will strangle him in his bed and throw him in a sack into the Danube, and all will be right. The rest will follow as a matter of course."

At that time, Andreas Hofer and Joseph Speckbacher rose for the delivery of the Tyrol from the Bavarian rule; the prime mover of the rising had, however, been Father Haspinger. The Tyrolese were much more influenced by religious than by political motives, no part of the monarchy being more completely swayed by the clergy than theirs. The mountaineers defended themselves against the Bavarians, just as they had done in 1703, in the war of the Spanish Succession. Austria sent assistance, but afterwards deserted the faithful Tyrolese; and Andreas Hofer was shot at Mantua.

Once more, Napoleon's genius came out triumphant at the battle of Wagram (5th and 6th of July, 1809), in which the Archduke Charles was out-flanked and driven back into Moravia.

This battle is generally represented to have been lost by

the Archduke John; who was bringing up his corps from Pressburg, and who, instead of joining the left wing of the line of battle on the 6th of July at noon, had arrived only in the evening when all was said to be lost already. In corroboration of this statement, it was asserted that, since the battle of Wagram, the Archduke Charles had never again spoken to his brother John. But Hormayr, in his last fragment, "Francis and Metternich," has given a very different version of the affair. It was the decided opinion of Prince John of Liechtenstein, and of Radetzky, that no blame whatever attached to the Archduke John; but, on the contrary, they entertained the gravest suspicions against the very man who constituted himself his accuser, Count Philip Grünne, the Archduke Charles's confidential friend and the chief of his staff. Liechtenstein, Radetzky, and Philip Stadion all held to it that the battle of Wagram was won by the Austrians in the centre and on the right wing, and could have been renewed on the morning of the 7th of July; but that *it was lost on purpose, for diplomatic reasons.* The Archduke John himself afterwards said to Frimont, who commanded the van of his corps, "We have arrived even sooner than we promised. But all the blame will somehow or other be laid on our tardiness — a most welcome excuse to a good many people." The Archduke Charles at once resigned his command, in which he was succeeded by Prince John of Liechtenstein.

In consequence of the battle of Wagram, Austria was compelled to conclude, on the 12th of July, the truce of Zraym. The army had again been marched to Hungary, where its principal strength rested on the impregnable fortress of Comorn. Peace was concluded on the 14th of October, at Vienna.

As soon as the State Chancellor, Count Philip Stadion, was sure of the result of his negotiations, he too resigned his office. He was, at the time, at Comorn. He had remained at his post, and had conducted the affairs of the

state with an unflinching faithfulness to his duty, although he was all the time suffering most acutely from the tortures of gout. "A few hours after having sent in his resignation," writes Hormayr, "Stadion walked about on the walls of Comorn, waiting for post-horses to take him to Prague, and, with truly Roman self-command, conversing most unconcernedly on trifling subjects." In the momentous year of 1813, Count Philip was once more drawn forth from private life, and employed in most important business. In 1814, he undertook the ministry of finance; and he survived for more than ten years the downfall of Napoleon, and the establishment of the new order of things, which he had been active in bringing about, and to whose deed of settlement his signature also is affixed.

The Peace of Vienna of the 14th of October, 1809, robbed Austria of Salzburg, which it had got in the Peace of Pressburg; and of part of Tyrol, with which Bavaria was endowed. Moreover, she lost the Illyrian provinces, and all the western and some of the eastern part of Gallicia. Napoleon, in the Peace of Vienna, committed the same mistake which he had made in the Peace of Tilsit with regard to Prussia — he omitted to weaken Austria to such a degree that it could never have been dangerous to him. But Napoleon preferred to connect himself, by marriage, with the reduced power of Austria; the Imperator, whose first crown had been of laurel, was short-sighted enough to expect that he might secure his newly-found diadem by a wreath of myrtle.

4. THE STATE CHANCELLOR METTERNICH, 1809–1848. — COUNT WALLIS AND THE AUSTRIAN STATE BANKRUPTCY. — THE AUSTRIAN DECLARATION OF WAR IN 1813.

After the Peace of Vienna, Count Metternich succeeded to the place of State Chancellor of Austria. He accomplished the task which Stadion had not been lucky enough

to fulfil. To him the singular fortune was granted of overthrowing the hero of the age; the fox conquering the lion.

Count Clement Wenceslaus Lothair Metternich descended from one of those noble families of the Rhenish provinces, which from time immemorial had prospered in the three large archbishopries of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves. As early as in the days of Frederic Barbarossa, the Metternichs held the hereditary dignity of Chamberlains in the Archbishopric of Cologne; afterwards, they got that of Mayence. They had built, under Louis of Bavaria (in the 14th century), the castle of Metternich, in the country of Juliers, on the frontier of the archbishopric of Cologne, just at the foot of the Henneberg hills. They bore on their coat of arms three escallops.

Lothair von Metternich became, in 1599, Elector of Treves; and was, with Maximilian of Bavaria, one of the principal supporters of the Catholic League, and the most zealous champion of the absolute rule of Austria. He acquired for his nephews the lordships of Winneburg and Beilstein. Another of the family, Lothair Frederic Metternich, was Elector of Mayence from 1673 to 1675. In 1679, Charles Henry Metternich succeeded him; but died some months after his enthronement. The latter, together with his brother, had — in the same year — been raised by Leopold to the dignity of Counts of the Empire.

The celebrated Prince and State Chancellor Metternich, of the Winneburg and Beilstein branch, was born in the year 1773, at Coblentz, the residence of the last Elector of Treves, Clement Wenceslaus of the House of Saxony. In honour of this spiritual prince, he was christened Clement Wenceslaus, to which was added the name of Lothair, in honour of his relative the Elector. The name by which he was called was Clement. His father, Count George, was a very insignificant man; his mother was a Countess

Kagenegg, of an old Alsatian family. The match had been one of Maria Theresa's making.

Count George Metternich, at the outbreak of the revolution in the Austrian Netherlands, went to Brussels to assist by his services Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen; but after the loss of the Netherlands, he went to Vienna. In the settlement following the peace of Luneville, his estates of Winneburg and Beilstein were ceded to France; but he was indemnified by the Swabian Abbey of Ochsenhausen, which, in 1825, was bought at a very high price by the King of Würtemberg. Count George lived long enough to see his son at the height of his fortune. He died in 1818, at the age of seventy-three.

Count Clement Metternich was endowed with all that liveliness and exuberance of animal spirits which is the characteristic of the Rhenish race; and, besides, with a very fine figure, and a most pleasing countenance. In 1788, he went to the University of Strassburg, whither the fame of the celebrated professor of international law, Koch, at that time attracted a great number of students from princely and noble families. Afterwards he continued what he called his studies at Mentz; that is to say, he first passed his apprenticeship with a lady who enjoyed political influence, Madame de Coudenhoven, the well known fair friend of the spiritual Elector of Mayence, Count Erthal. Even at that time, old Prince Kaunitz spoke of young Metternich as of "a good, *aimable* young man, of the prettiest *verve*, a perfect cavalier." Substantial knowledge Metternich not only never affected to possess, but on the contrary, he hated and shunned it in others.

In 1794, Metternich went on a journey to England, which he was to see twice more—once, at the height of his fortune, in 1815; and once, after his downfall, in 1848. In 1795, he married, at Vienna, the Princess Eleonore Kaunitz, a grand-daughter of the State Chancellor. The Princess had no personal attractions; but the match was

one of the most brilliant. By it, Metternich gained a firm footing among the native high aristocracy of Austria. The two Metternichs—the old Count and the young—led at that period a very free and easy life at Vienna. Hormayr, in his posthumous fragment "Francis and Metternich," occasionally states that Kotzebue had taken the subject of his comedy "The Two Klingsbergs"* from a gallant adventure which really happened between the two Metternichs. The father did every thing to push his son, in the diplomatic career. It was well known in Vienna that he very nearly ruined himself for the promising Clement.

Metternich's first real diplomatic office was the post of Austrian minister at Dresden, which he entered upon in 1801. Here it was again two gallant "stateswomen," who initiated him in the mysteries of the great political world — the Russian Princess Bagration, the grand niece of the celebrated Potemkin; and the Duchess Biron-Sagan, descended from the notorious favourite of the Czarina Ann.

Hormayr states that Metternich, who, like Napoleon, was fond of *bavardage*, had been very frank about his dealings with the fair sex; and he quotes the following remarkable conversation, which took place in 1822.

"You see," Metternich said to him, "you act in your house, just in the same way which I dislike in you so much in your conduct of business. Zeal never does any good. It spoils everything. *In negotiations there is only one misfortune, not to succeed;* and likewise in domestic affairs, only one,— *éclat.* Dissembling, temporising, tacking, trimming, are

* In one of the scenes of that comedy, Klingsberg the son relates to his rakish father an adventure, where, in visiting an opera dancer, he was slyly informed by the fair one that some odious old lover was supping with her. The lady, however, although being obliged to make him wait, had soothed the tediousness of the delay by sending out to him all the tit-bits from the supper table; and, moreover, had contrived to get the old gentleman away, to receive the more favoured younger lover. The discovery is then made, that the son had been in this affair the rival of his own worthy father. — *Transl.*

things you will never be able to do; you are always for neck-or-nothing measures, all your nature is thoroughly passionate. But when your passion is not roused, you are merely a sleeping *savant*, with an immense deal of knowledge. However, your talent is contradictory in itself: you are born to be a *tribunus plebis*, quite a splendid specimen of the breed; and yet you are also born to be — minister of police at St. Petersburg. Now just consider; if I had wished to act as you do, where should I be? The Princess (Eleonore) is destitute of every attraction; but she has a great share of common sense, and I don't by any means disdain to consult with her about political chances, when it is worth my while to do so. *When we came to Dresden, we mutually vowed that we would inseparably keep to each other, but that we should each go our own way, without any restraint whatever.* Thus of all the children of the Princess, Marie alone is mine. The beautiful Clementine, and Victor with his fine intellect, are Dumoustier's; all the world knows it: for the connection with him continued in Berlin.*

* * * * * * "

That French diplomatist, Marquis Dumoustier, ambassador at Berlin, Metternich described as "a villain of the most penetrating acuteness, and of a knowledge of men, and a contempt for mankind, verging on sublimity; moreover as a man who knew of neither virtue nor vice, but only of means and *faits accomplis*." He is said to have betrayed his own father, who, at the flight of Louis XVI.,

* Dr. Vehse has inserted the rest of the passage in full, and accompanies these most extraordinary disclosures with the following foot-note: —"However grievously such things grate upon our feeling of propriety, yet no one who has in any way become acquainted with the very loose tone of our high society, can doubt the reality of these disclosures; and as to the validity of Hormayr's evidence, he was certainly not the man who would invent such positive statements. His having made them public may be called indiscreet; but untrue they certainly are not. The indiscretion once committed, publicity may, perhaps, in future act as a corrective on the private life of those who, until now, have been screened from public reprobation by the Ægis of censorship.

to Varennes, sat on the box, disguised as *garde de corps*. After the restoration, Dumoustier at once tied his hair in a huge pig-tail, powdered it snow white, went to mass, and "sprinkled holy water over himself and all that belonged to him." He was, and remained, after his own fashion, enamoured with the intellect, and even with the person of the Princess Eleonore.

"At Dresden," continues Prince Metternich's disclosure, "my diplomatic career began together with my career among the women, who have often delighted me, often bored me to death, and often driven me to despair. But the most incomprehensible thing in the whole history of the world is Kosciusko's cry of agony at Macieiowice — *Finis Poloniæ!* — for how any one can get to an end with a Polish woman, is to this day a greater puzzle to me than all the riddles of the Sphinx. Many pretty little fools have sincerely loved me, although I am conscious of never having meant honestly with any of them; at least, what they in their presumption call honest. *What I have suffered, especially at Dresden, from all the Queens, Electresses, Grand Duchesses, and Duchesses, would fill a good sized novel, for the benefit of chronic invalids in their sleepless nights.*"

In 1803, Metternich was transferred from the embassy of Dresden to that at Berlin; and at last, in August, 1806, he went to occupy the same post at Paris. There he at once gave a distinguished proof of his power of insinuating himself with the other sex, by his quick success with Napoleon's favourite sister, Caroline Murat. Napoleon himself certainly had paved the way to it, by saying to her in his usual rough and ready manner, soon after Metternich's arrival; "*Amusez ce niais là! Nous en avons besoin à présent!*" But this connection soon grew so important that Fouché himself took advantage of it to get into the track of certain things; and the cool impertinent Savary frankly confessed: "M. de Metternich avoit poussé ces in-

formations si loin, qu'il seroit devenu impossible pour un autre, que l'empereur, d'y parvenir au fond. Il disposoit en dominateur d'une personne, dont M. Fouché avoit un besoin indispensable. La discretion m'empêche de la nommer: cela serait une révélation inutile."

Metternich was in many respects the counterpart of Kaunitz. His love of pleasure and amusement, and his real and also sometimes assumed frivolity, led many people entirely to overlook the burning stream which was hidden under that crust of ashes. It happened sometimes, however, that his overdone politeness, and his not taking the least notice of Buonaparte's rudenesses, instigated some mischievous Frenchman or other, insultingly to try and make sport of him. Lannes, among the number of whose virtues temperance certainly was not comprised, once stood behind Talleyrand and Metternich, whilst they were engaged in animated conversation with Buonaparte; and he had no sooner withdrawn, than they burst into a horse laugh, when, being asked the reason of it, he answered to his old companion in arms: "What taste in Caroline! what dog's humility and inanity! Whilst he was talking with you, I might have kicked him behind; and you would never have seen the slightest twitch in his smiling mouth."

Even as late as February 1814, when the allies were already near the Marne and Seine, an English brig took a Neapolitan craft, on board of which, beside many other important correspondences, two delightful love letters of Prince Metternich to Queen Caroline Murat were found, in which he warned her most earnestly of the danger of the ambiguous position of her husband King Joachim. General Count Nugent sent these letters to the head-quarters of the allies at Troyes, to his friend the Hanoverian Minister Count Münster. Lord Castlereagh looked very grave when he read them.

It was a sort of retributive justice, that Metternich

who in his younger days used women only as the tools of his ambition, should have fallen sincerely and passionately in love when already past the prime of manhood. His first wife died in 1825 ; and shortly after, the prince married a second time. The bride was Antonia von Leykam, daughter of a younger son of a family of postal upstarts, who had risen in the service of Prince Taxis. Her mother was a woman of very bad character, a singer and opera dancer named Bretella. She had been for some time the mistress of the Lazzaroni king Ferdinand IV. of Naples ; after which she married Baron Ambrosius Leykam.* Antonia, the second daughter of this couple, was born in 1806 ; and her delicate beauty was universally acknowledged and admired. The marriage created an immense sensation in the high world of Vienna. The news was too startling, that the prop of privileged exclusiveness, the pillar of the aristocracy of blood, should so far forget his old principles, as to unite himself to such a pedigree. Whilst he was entering his carriage, to drive to church to be married, he was called away to hear the astounding news of " the untoward event " of the battle of Navarino. The Emperor, however, when he was told under what circumstances the prince had been carried off, sent him back to the assembled wedding guests, many of whom, not being able to account for the sudden absence of the prince, perhaps still indulged a hope that at the eleventh hour he had taken better advice. The union lasted only fifteen months. Antonia died on the 17th of January 1827, after having given birth to a most beautiful child—Richard. The prince, who during her illness never left her side, offered to the physicians all the treasures and favours of the mo-

* The connection between the two began when she was still living under the protection of the king. Baron Ambrosius, being one day surprised by His Majesty in the apartments of the frail Bretella, made off in all haste, when his foot slipped on the polished floor ; he fell, broke his leg, and became lamed for life, so as to be obliged to use a crutch.

narchy if they could save her; but, to his unspeakable grief, she died in his arms, thanking him for the happiness which, as she assured him, she had enjoyed as his wife. Her son Richard is the heir of the prince. Metternich had him educated by a Swiss in the most liberal spirit.

This short idyl was, as Hormayr says, succeeded by the "Hellbreughel and Salvator Rosa" of his third marriage to Melanie Zichy; the clever, bold, proud, passionate, voluptuously beautiful daughter of that notorious Hungarian family to which more than one political traitor has owed his origin. She occupies a chapter of many pages in the *chronique scandaleuse* of Vienna. She was immoderately proud; and, having long speculated on the hand of the Prince, she felt not a little disgusted when he gave the preference to her humble friend Antonia. After her death, Melanie carried her point: she became Princess Metternich. But her husband still had in his cabinet the portrait of Antonia dressed in a plain white robe, with a bunch of violets in her hand; and this picture faced his writing table, whilst the portrait of Melanie, in full dress, with a profusion of diamonds, was hung on the wall behind his chair. Melanie once, in the absence of the Prince, had the position of the pictures reversed; but they were soon restored to their old places. The insolence of the Princess manifested itself in its strongest light, on the occasion of the visit of the sons of Louis Philippe at Vienna. *She refused to acknowledge them.* When the French ambassador remonstrated with Metternich about it, the Prince answered: "Je n'ai pas fait l'education de ma femme." *

To return to Metternich's embassy in Paris. He was good friends with Talleyrand, and also with Fouché; with the latter, Metternich, even after leaving Paris, kept up a

* The prince has survived his third wife also; the Princess Melanie died on the 4th March, 1855.

correspondence, which furnished him with the most valuable disclosures after the catastrophe of 1812, when the man of the age was to be overthrown. Even with Napoleon himself, Metternich was rather a favourite. The Emperor often teased him by telling him that he was too young to be the representative of such an old House as the Austrian. Metternich gave an answer worthy of a consummate courtier, but not quite worthy of an Austrian statesman: "*Your Majesty, at the time of the battle of Austerlitz, was not older than I am now.*"

Metternich remained faithful, as long as he could, to the old principle of Kaunitz, which considered an alliance between Austria and France a political necessity. He remained in Paris during the whole time of the Prussian campaign of 1806; and was present at the two meetings between Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander, at Tilsit in 1807, and at Erfurt in 1808. The friendly relations between Austria and France were only damped, when Napoleon overthrew the existing order of things in Spain. As the men then in power at Vienna loudly proclaimed their indignation at it, Metternich had to pass through the memorable scene of the 15th of August, 1808, when Napoleon in public audience assailed him, the ambassador of Austria, with the most violent invectives concerning the Neapolitan Camarilla at the Imperial Court. The Prince remained perfectly quiet under the torrent of abuse which Napoleon showered forth upon him; his bearing was dignified on this occasion, and forced respect even from the French courtiers. At the outbreak of the war with France in 1809, Metternich, on the 24th of May, demanded his passports; but was kept back until the 2nd July, under a military escort of gendarmes, because Napoleon wished to employ him in the negotiations. On that day only he was exchanged, at the line of outposts before Comorn, for persons belonging to the French embassy who had been detained in Hungary. Metternich at once pro-

ceeded to the Imperial head-quarters, and remained in the suite of the Emperor Francis; who conferred on him the *porte-feuille* which had fallen vacant by the retirement of Stadion. Metternich, at that time, was in his thirty-seventh year. In the following year, he again went to Paris; and thence returned, on the 10th of October, 1810, to Vienna, where he now permanently settled, without, however, possessing that paramount influence which he acquired only in 1813. His journey to Paris, in 1810, was occasioned by the marriage of the Emperor of the French.

Four months after the Peace of Vienna, on the 7th of February, 1810, Napoleon's demand for the hand of the Archduchess Marie Louise arrived at Vienna. His intention was well known at Court, having been the subject of one of the most secret articles of the Peace; but the public was completely taken aback by the news. *On the 20th of February, on the very day when Andreas Hofer was shot on the walls of Mantua, the betrothal took place,* on the 11th of March. The marriage was celebrated by proxy; the bridegroom being represented by the Archduke Charles, who so shortly before had stood against Napoleon on the battle-fields of Aspern and Wagram. The Austrian Court, whose greatest fear was a marriage of Napoleon with a Russian princess, gave a ready consent; as also did the Archduchess herself, who, even during the campaign of 1809, had expressed an enthusiastic admiration for Napoleon. The marriage seemed to secure to the world universal peace. Lord Castlereagh gave it as his opinion, that "to propitiate the Minotaur, an Austrian maiden should be offered up." But even the terrible fire in the ball-room of the Prince Charles Schwarzenberg, the Austrian ambassador in Paris, on the 1st July 1810, when the wife of King Joseph perished in the flames, was an evil omen. Three years after, Schwarzenberg faced Napoleon on the plains of Dresden and Leipzig.

The situation of Austria during the years 1810—1812,

was a most melancholy one. The immense expenditure occasioned by the repeated wars against France led, in 1811, to the famous "state bankruptcy."* In that year, Count Joseph Wallis, the newly appointed Minister of Finance, felt himself placed under the necessity of declaring a public bankruptcy; that is to say, of lowering the sum of 1060 millions of what were called Bankzettel (bank bills) to 212 millions of "redeemable florin-notes, (Einlösungs-Gulden-scheine), and likewise reducing the interest of the whole public debt to half the nominal value in the new paper currency.† According to a statement of Gentz, in a letter to Göthe (4th April, 1811), Wallis introduced this measure with the words, "Here are my proposals: I desire you to accept them until such and such a day; if you refuse, you may *shut the shop after me.*"

* The Austrian finances had declined more and more rapidly ever since the Seven Years' War, *when Austria first issued paper money.* According to Von Haucr's "Materials for the History of the Austrian Finances," published in 1848, the public debt amounted: —

1. Previous to the Seven Years' War to 118,000,000 florins.

(As early as in 1568, when the Emperor Maximilian II. granted religious liberty, the Estates of Lower Austria, to show their gratitude, agreed to take upon themselves 2,000,000 ducats of the Emperor's debts.)

2. After the peace of Hubertsburg, in 1763, to 272,000,000 florins.

3. Under Joseph II. down to 1792, the debt increased to 350,000,000 florins, paying 14,000,000 florins interest.

4. After the peace of Campo Formio, in 1797, to 466,000,000 florins.

5. After the peace of Luneville, in 1801, to 592,000,000 florins, paying 23,500,000 florins interest.

6. After the peace of Vienna, in 1810, to 658,000,000 florins, with nearly 40,000,000 florins interest.

The circulating paper money (Bankzettel), which since 1797 had had a forced currency, amounted, in 1810, to 900,000,000florins, representing not more than 225,000,000 florins of bullion.

† The Austrian silver florin, independent of the variable rate of exchange, is in round numbers equal to two shillings; consequently ten to a pound sterling. The operation of Count Wallis was therefore simply paying to the creditors of the state two shillings in the pound; in the first place, reducing the debt to twenty per cent. of its amount, and then paying only half the interest on its *reduced* value.

The necessary consequence of this public bankruptcy was the misery entailed upon the community by the many private failures which inevitably followed in its train. The distress, however, pressed with its full weight only on the humbler portion of his Imperial Majesty's subjects, the high aristocracy lived on as gaily and extravagantly as if nothing had happened. Gentz writes in those days, in another letter to Göthe, "The luxury in furniture, in carriages, in the dresses of the ladies, and especially in eating and drinking, has risen to such a height as was never before known in Vienna, and as may not be equalled anywhere else in the world, except in Paris."

Setting out for the Russian Campaign, in May 1812, Napoleon repeated at Dresden the "Parterre of Kings," which he had once before, in 1808, gathered round him at Erfurt. He displayed on this occasion a splendour, and at the same time an overbearing haughtiness, which galled even those of his partizans who were most faithfully attached to him. Austria's unfortunate position was thus rendered doubly irksome. Napoleon had brought Marie Louise to Dresden, where the Emperor Francis and his wife met her. Yet, the Austrian Empress was so completely thrown into the shade by the splendour of her Frenchified step-daughter, that the meeting could not but be grating to her feelings. Nor was it to be expected that the "Olympic pride" of the Emperor Francis should have been particularly gratified at having to deal with a man of "no birth whatever" as with an equal, or, alas! a superior. Napoleon, however, to set his father-in-law right as to the point of courtesy, said to him:—"Je suis le Rodolphe de Hapsbourg de ma famille." Already, on the 14th of March, Austria had placed at Napoleon's disposition, for the Russian campaign, 30,000 men, commanded by Schwarzenberg. These troops, operating on the right wing of the Great French Army, invaded Volhynia from Gallicia; but as soon as the disasters of that dreadful winter began to

weigh upon the French, *Schwarzenberg concluded a treaty of neutrality with the Russians.*

The year 1813 found Austria in a very different position from that in which she had been the year before. The fate of Europe now rested in her hands, depending on whether her Emperor would side with Napoleon, or with Russia and Prussia. In this conjuncture of affairs, Metternich showed his eminent genius as a diplomatist; a genius which indeed had nothing great and dignified in it, but which was distinguished by its remarkable subtlety, and the wisdom of the serpent.

As soon as Napoleon's catastrophe in Russia had become known, the "patriot" party in Austria directed their endeavours to the organisation of an insurrection in those provinces which had been severed from Austria by the preceding treaties of peace; especially in the Tyrol, and in Vorarlberg. The Tyrolese, however, declared "that they would not wait until the French advanced to the Inn and the Danube, laying hold of their men and their money to use them *against* Austria. *For* Austria they would rise once more, if the Archduke John in person appeared among them, and shared their venture. If that were not done, they would immediately, under British auspices, join the Swiss." Money and arms from England were in readiness. General Nugent's return from the Mediterranean was daily expected.

This vigorous and patriotic agitation, which presumed to act independently of the dictates of the cabinet, clashed very inconveniently with the plans of Metternich; who did not wish to stake too much, and whose business in hand was only *to play the part* of a general mediator. In the night of the 7th of March, 1813, at the very time when Metternich caused, through Lebzeltern, that treacherous secret military convention which proved so dangerous to Napoleon to be concluded at Kalisch with Count Nesselrode the Russian plenipotentiary; the great blow was struck against

the Tyrolese champions of liberty, who stood in the way of the arch-chancellor. Hormayr and, besides him, forty-six other persons of the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, and the Valtelin were arrested. Hormayr was sent to Munkatch, to the same room, No. 4., which, at a later period, became the melancholy prison of Prince Alexander Ypsilanti. The cause of this extraordinary treatment Hormayr did not know until, on his release, which took place in April, 1814, after a captivity of thirteen months, he was told that his "indiscretion had too gravely compromised the Austrian Government with the French ; and even more so with the cabinets of Munich, Stuttgart, and Carlsruhe."

"Metternich," says Hormayr, "thought in this way to kill several birds with one stone. 1st. Napoleon was to look upon this proceeding as a weighty pledge of his steadfast fidelity and truthfulness, notwithstanding Austria's negotiations in a very different direction with England, Russia, and Prussia; who, on their part, did not fail as much as possible to compromise the arch-chancellor with the French Emperor. 2ndly. The Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, Bavaria in particular, were to be re-assured. 3rdly. The hopes of the people for constitutional liberty, which had nowhere been more strongly raised than in the Tyrol by the Archduke John, were to be damped and crushed, so as eventually to leave the hands of Government unfettered.

"On the 8th of March, at ten in the morning, Metternich sent for the French ambassador, Otto, to impart to him the triumphant news that the communication with Italy was secured for the Emperor Napoleon, and the hydra of insurrection effectually crushed. According to Otto's own account of the interview, Metternich, who had likewise requested the presence of the envoys of the Confederation of the Rhine, went with open arms to meet the Bavarian minister, Count Rechberg, saying, "I sincerely congratulate you, my dear Count; to-day you may send a *good*

report to Munich. You are again masters in your *own house*, after having escaped a great danger. The court of the Crown Prince Louis is now as safe at Innsbruck as at Salzburg. The incendiaries have been sent last night to the fortress, where the ardour of their political dilettantism will have an opportunity to cool down a little. Once more, I congratulate you from all my heart. And now I hope you will at last do justice to my intentions and sentiments."

Napoleon, however, looked very deep into the wily arch-chancellor. The single-minded republican, Otto, was suddenly recalled; and on the 17th of March, Count Louis Narbonne, the new French ambassador, made his appearance at Vienna, to rend the veil with which Metternich covered himself. On the 26th of April, whilst journeying from Erfurt to Lutzen, Napoleon was heard to say, "*M. de Metternich prend l'intrigue pour la politique. Le mensonge n'est bon à rien, puis qu'il ne trompe qu'une fois.*"

But Napoleon did not know his father-in-law. Relying on Austria's traditionary dislike of Prussia, he offered to the Emperor Francis, as the price of his alliance, not only Illyria, but also Silesia. Russia was to receive the whole of Poland. Prussia was to pay, and to be completely sacrificed. The kingdom of Westphalia was to be extended to the Oder, with Berlin instead of Cassel for its capital. Yet Francis disliked Napoleon even more cordially than he did Prussia. Prussia was only a rebel; but Napoleon, although Austria's son-in-law, was the man of the revolution. In this hostile policy, Francis was supported by the inveterate hatred of his people against France. Whilst, therefore, the cannon of the battles of Lützen and Bautzen was roaring, Austria completed her armaments, as Napoleon himself expressed it, "behind the curtain of the Bohemian mountains."

Francis gave Metternich the quaintly-expressed but not the less peremptory order, — spoken, as was usual with his

Majesty, in the broad Vienna dialect,— "First let me have my alliance back from Napoleon; in the meanwhile, *I may get myself fit for any saddle*: but first of all, bring me back my alliance." And now Metternich performed the masterpiece of his subtle, time-abiding statecraft; passing with consummate skill, first from the alliance with Napoleon to neutrality, then from neutrality to the position of mediator, and from that to the alliance against Napoleon.

On the 4th of June, 1813, Napoleon concluded with Russia and Prussia that incomprehensible armistice at Pläswitz, near Striegau. On the same day, the Emperor of Austria, having left Vienna on the 1st, arrived with Metternich at Gitschin in Bohemia.

On the 28th of June, Metternich presented himself at Dresden before the French Emperor, who was staying there at the Marcolini Palace. The conference lasted nearly half a day. Napoleon, clad in military uniform, paced up and down the room with great strides; his eyes glistened; the cold sweat on his brow bore witness to the violent agitation of his mind. He gave vent to his anger by declaiming against what he called the excessive demands of the Cabinet of Vienna. Metternich declared that the only advantage which the Emperor Francis felt anxious to obtain, was to inspire the cabinets of Europe with the same spirit of moderation with which he himself was animated. Napoleon replied: "What! Illyria, half of Italy; the return of the Pope to Rome; Poland, Spain, and Holland; and the Confederation of the Rhine and Switzerland — that's what you call moderation! The only thing you think of, is to profit from every chance that may turn up. Peace is only a pretext with you. You want me, without striking a blow, to evacuate Europe; to lead back my victorious legions, with arms reversed, across the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees! That's what my father-in-law has sent you here for. A crippled throne he wishes to assign to his daughter and to his grandson. Well, Metternich, just tell me how much has England paid

you, to bribe you into playing this part against me?" These words were followed by a deep silence, during which the two walked up and down the room with hasty steps. *Napoleon, in his violent gesticulations, had dropped his hat. Metternich repeatedly passed it without picking it up. This little incident showed Napoleon more distinctly than any thing what he had to expect from Metternich. He picked up the hat himself and left the room.* Metternich took his departure; and on the 1st of August, the allies received Austria's promise to join them with 200,000 men, if Napoleon should refuse to accept the conditions of the peace.

The Congress met at Prague. The Autrian proposals not being acceded to by Napoleon, Austria, on the 12th of August, declared war against France; and when, on the 14th, Napoleon gave a tardy assent to the proposed conditions, the Austrian Cabinet declared "that *now* the matter was to be referred to her allies." On the 15th, Count Narbonne returned to Dresden with the celebrated Austrian manifesto of war. Like that of 1809, it was composed by Gentz; and it was published in the Austrian Court Journal, on the 19th August, 1813.

5. THE WARS OF LIBERATION. — PRINCE CHARLES SCHWARZENBERG.

The chief command of the allied armies, after the declaration of war, was conferred on Prince Charles Schwarzenberg.

Field Marshal Prince Charles Schwarzenberg was born in 1771. He had begun his military career under Laudon, in the Turkish campaigns; and under the Archduke Charles, in the first revolutionary wars against France. In 1799, he married the widow of Prince Paul Antony Esterhazy. In 1801, he was sent to St. Petersburg, to congratulate Alexander on his accession. He then served in the unfortunate campaign of 1805; was appointed, in 1808, ambassador at

St. Petersburg; and in 1809, after the Peace of Vienna, ambassador at Paris. In 1812, Schwarzenberg commanded the Austrian contingent, on the side of the French, in the Russian campaign; during which, at the intercession of Napoleon, he received the *bâton* of Marshal. He happened to carry this truncheon when, in April, 1813, he had his last interview with Napoleon in Paris. "Vous avez le bâton de Maréchal," said Napoleon to him, "le bâton, cela veut dire *schlagen* (to beat) *celui qu'on a devant soi.*" "Oui, Sire," answered Schwarzenberg, "il faut le désirer; il s'agit de le pouvoir."

Schwarzenberg, as a born aristocrat, possessed all the high-bred assurance of one who, as a man of acknowledged rank, is above petty jealousies. Wherever he was in a position to act, he displayed the most resolute firmness: but, where it was necessary to abide the time, he was as accommodating and compliant as could be wished, one of those unassuming, quiet persons who inspire every one with confidence; of a thoroughly conciliatory disposition; more of a diplomatist than of a General. Alexander had known him from his two missions to St. Petersburg, and had ever since held him in great esteem. Schwarzenberg, on the other hand, had also had an opportunity during his embassy in Paris to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the character and disposition of Napoleon.

He had for the chief of his staff the now so celebrated Count Joseph Radetzky, who, however, had by no means the same influence upon him as Gneisenau had on Blücher. His principal military adviser was General Langenau, of whom more hereafter.

As early as on the 12th of July, 1813, the allies had come to an agreement at Trachenberg, in Silesia, concerning the plan of operations against Napoleon. According to this plan, the forces were to be divided into three armies: — 237,000 men under Schwarzenberg, on the Eger, in Bohemia; 95,000 men under Blücher, on the Katzbach, in

Silesia; and 150,000 men under the Crown Prince of Sweden, on the Havel and Spree. Whichever of these three armies Napoleon should attack, was to retreat and avoid a battle; whilst the other two were to advance and fall upon him on the flank and in the rear. Should Napoleon march against the Bohemian army, then Blücher would advance between Dresden and Torgau, across the Elbe, and the Crown Prince to Leipzig. If Napoleon should march against the Silesian army, Schwarzenberg was to advance upon Dresden or Leipzig, and the Crown Prince likewise to Leipzig. And, lastly, if Napoleon should attack the northern army, the Crown Prince was to give way; and then the Bohemian and Silesian armies would follow on the heels of the French.

This comprehensive strategical plan was executed by the allies with as much exactness as freedom from individual ambition and jealousy. Napoleon, from the expiration of the truce to the 24th of September, burst not less than ten times from his centre at Dresden; and was as many times obliged to return to it, not without being at last greatly disgusted and dispirited. His first movement was directed against Blücher. Whilst the latter retired from the river Bober to Jauer, Schwarzenberg crossed the Erzgebirge and invaded Saxony, a manœuvre which obliged Napoleon to retreat. The battle of Dresden was fought on the 26th and 27th of August, and was lost by the Austrians, who were still haunted by the delusion of Napoleon's invincibility; 12,000 men of theirs, with General Mesko, were made prisoners. Schwarzenberg was obliged to lead back his army by Altenberg to Bohemia; it would have been annihilated, had not Vandamme, who was sent in its pursuit, been stopped near Culm by 8000 men, Russian Guards, under Ostermann, and then been defeated and made prisoner by the Prussians under Kleist. From the battle of Culm (29th and 30th of August) to the end of September, Schwarzenberg did not stir from his position at Töplitz. The

preconcerted operations were executed wonderfully well. Napoleon tried with might and main to invade Bohemia. On the 10th of September, he pushed on as far as Nollendorf; and there was some fighting near Graupen, 15,000 men having advanced by the old road over the Geyersberg hills. They were repulsed in most splendid style; and in the evening, at seven o'clock, nothing more was to be seen of them. Napoleon was in the very worst of moods. He repeated his attack, on the 12th of September; but seeing, about mid-day, 150,000 men drawn up in a line, and 800 cannon pitched in the defiles to receive him, he deemed it best, as early as two o'clock, to beat his retreat. After the third unsuccessful attempt, on the 17th of September, Napoleon retired altogether from the Bohemian frontier, whilst the Austrian army remained stationed near Töplitz. The French marshals, Oudinot, Macdonald, and Ney, and General Bertrand, were beaten by Bülow, near Grossbeeren; by Blücher, on the Katzbach; then again, by Bülow, near Dennewitz; and by York, near Wartenburg. "The eagle," as Prokesch says in his Life of Schwarzenberg, "had his wings broken before it was quarried." The great blow at last was struck near Leipzig. Although, on the 16th of October, the Austrians under Giulay were beaten by Bertrand, near Lindenau, and again Blücher's Prussians alone gained a decisive advantage, near Möckern, against Marmont; yet Schwarzenberg stood his ground against Napoleon's principal attack, near Waehau. Here the Austrian Generalissimo personally drew his sword, and, at the head of the Cossacks of Alexander's body-guard, repulsed a formidable cavalry attack of Murat's. The greater part of the 18th of October, Schwarzenberg passed with the three monarchs on the hill — afterwards called the "Monarchs' Hill"—near the brick kiln of Meusdorf, on the left of the road from Borna to Leipzig; and established his head-quarters that night with the Emperor Alexander, at Rötha.

The dispositions for the battle of Leipzig had been made

by General Langenau. This officer had been sent by the King of Saxony, in 1813, to Prague, to obtain from the Austrian Court permission for his royal master to appear there in person. Langenau had adroitly made use of this opportunity to obtain admission into the Austrian army, in which he was appointed Major General. Being placed on the general staff of Prince Schwarzenberg, he very soon became his chief adviser. It was quite natural that the prince should have charged him with making the dispositions for the battle, since, as a native of Saxony, Langenau, of all the men in the Austrian army, was best acquainted with the ground. General von Wolzogen, in his lately published Memoirs, relates some very interesting details about this matter. Langenau had no strategical knowledge whatever; but he would not lose such a fine opportunity for realising his own ambitious plans. With this view, he wished to arrange matters so that the victory should be gained exclusively by the Austrian troops. He therefore placed them by themselves, but in the most absurd position, in the triangle formed by the confluence of the Pleisse and the Elster. General Radetzky alone saw the preposterousness of this project; and the blunder was remedied by bringing up the reserve, but only after General Meerveldt, who was made prisoner, had lost 4,000 men and two Generals.

On the 19th of October, Schwarzenberg, setting out with the Emperor Francis from Rötha, made his victorious entry into Leipzig by the Grimma Gate.

At Frankfort, the winter campaign of the allies in France was decided upon. The army of Prince Schwarzenberg, in the night of the 20th December, crossed the Upper Rhine, and marched through Switzerland to Franche Comté; whilst Blücher was to proceed by Lorraine, and Bülow by the Netherlands. On the 19th of January, 1814, Schwarzenberg, with 120,000 men, was posted on the heights of Langres, where the Seine and Marne rise; Blücher, with

50,000 men, was in the Valley of the Meuse; Bubna, with 30,000 men, threatened Lyons; whilst Bülow conquered the Netherlands. On French ground again, the Prussians fought victoriously; Blücher defeating Napoleon, on the 1st of February, near Brienne, and on the 9th and 10th of March, near Laon. The Austrian army did not operate so successfully; it had even to retreat again to Langres. But it is to be recorded to Schwarzenberg's honour, that, after Blücher's victories, he was free from every feeling of jealousy, and made no attempt to check the march upon Paris. Metternich still wished for peace; and even when the Congress of Chatillon, on the 8th of March, had miscarried, he continued to negotiate with the Duke of Vicenza, to oppose to the ascendancy of Russia—which had been very manifest at that congress—a weakened, but still powerful France. But Napoleon would not enter upon the proposal of having France limited to the frontiers of 1792. Upon this, the great plan of leaving Napoleon in the rear, and marching straightway to the capital, was, on the 23rd of March, determined upon at the head-quarters at Pougy. Whilst Alexander and Frederic William marched upon Paris, Francis, from consideration for his daughter, first rode to Dijon, with Metternich, Stadion, Lord Castlereagh, Count Münster, and the two Counts Hardenberg. One week after, on the last day of March, the victorious allies made their entry down from the Montmartre into Paris. On the 15th of April, the Emperor Francis followed. Six weeks later, on the 30th of May, the first Peace of Paris was signed. On the 15th of June, the Emperor, after an absence of one year, was back at Schönbrunn.

Gentz, about that time, recorded his opinion concerning the result of this peace, in a letter to Rahel. "I am delighted with nothing: on the contrary, I am very cool and *blasé;* and I feel, as it were, a sort of diabolical pleasure

that what were called 'the great affairs' should now have come to such a ridiculous end."

Vienna, however, was giddy with delight. On the 15th of June, Gentz wrote to the same correspondent: "The illumination of to-morrow — *it will cost from* 1,500,000, *to* 2,000,000 *florins* — will be unparalleled in the history of the world; and what festivities afterwards! Adieu; now things about me are growing too wild."

Metternich, in the meanwhile, was with the monarchs of Russia and Prussia, on his important journey in England. There he displayed so much cunning and subtlety, that even the Russians, those masters in diplomacy, only wasted time with the Prince Regent and the Ministerial party. *The irresistible Clement again made his way principally through the ladies;* who called him only "*the fascinating Prince Metternich.*" He even drove Alexander from the field, who, after all, was fascinating too. An antipathy sprang up between the Czar and the Prince Regent, of which the wily State Chancellor very well knew how to take advantage in subsequent diplomatic transactions. *Metternich attached himself now to England and France, to keep the balance against Russia and Prussia.*

6. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

In the autumn of 1814, the Great Congress of monarchs and diplomatists assembled at Vienna, to perform Hamlet's irksome task "of setting right the time, which was out of joint."

A whole crowd of princes, statesmen, and diplomatists made their appearance at the Imperial capital; and, in their train, a no less number of "people of all sorts" — oddities, idlers, and a goodly array of that motley crowd of nondescript characters who live by what is called their wits, and who, in the modern slang of society, are desig-

nated as *Bohémiens*. There was, among the Dii Minorum Gentium, one illustrious character who ought not to be passed over in silence — Mynheer Borel, the inventor of the ingenious art of holding the glass to the eye by the mere contraction of the muscles of the face. Another celebrity was that grotesque Teutonic character, the famous apostle of gymnasties, old Jahn; who, as Rahel von Varnhagen expresses it, "sent himself as his own ambassador to Vienna, to get an increase on his pension of 1200 dollars."

The Emperor of Austria had taken upon himself the entertainment of the numerous guests, tame and wild. According to the Memoirs of Count Sehlitz, Görz every day cost his Majesty 50,000 florins (5,000*l.*). The Imperial kitchen fed not only those strangers who were living at the Hofburg, but also their suite, who were besides allowed to invite as many guests as they chose.

The list of the personages then present at Vienna, comprised the following notabilities.

1. Prussia.

The King. *Prince William*, the king's brother. *Prince Augustus*, cousin of the king. *Prince Radziwill*, brother-in-law to the latter.

Prince Hardenberg, State Chancellor, first Plenipotentiary. *William Von Humboldt*, second Plenipotentiary. Councillor of State, Stägemann. *Jordan*, and the other Attachés. *Prince Wittgenstein*, Lord Chamberlain. Cabinet Councillor *Albrecht*. *General Von Knesebeck*.

2. Bavaria.

The King and *Queen*. *The Crown Prince Louis*. *Prince Charles*, second son of the king.

Fieldmarshal Prince Wrede, Ambassador. *Count Reehberg*, Ambassador. Generals *Count Pappenheim* and *Prince Reuss*, Adjutants-general of the King. Major *Prince Taxis* and *Prince Löwenstein*, Aides-de-camp.

3. Würtemberg.

The King. *The Crown Prince William.*

Count Winzingerode, Minister and Ambassador. *Baron von Linden,* Minister and Ambassador. *Prince Taxis* and *Prince Hohenlohe,* Aides-de-camp of the King.

4. Saxony.

Count von der Schulenburg and *Baron von Globig,* the two negotiators.

Smaller German Potentates.

5. Baden.

The Grand Duke. *Count Hochberg* (afterwards styled Margrave William).

Barons von Marschall and *von Hack,* Envoys.

6. *a.* Saxe-Weimar.

The Grand Duke (he was the first arrival, coming as early as on the 16th of September, 1814). *The* (Russian) *Grand Duchess Maria,* consort of the Hereditary Prince. *Baron Gersdorf,* Envoy.

b. Saxe-Gotha and Meiningen.

Baron Minckwitz, Envoy.

c. Saxe-Coburg.

The Duke. *Prince Leopold* (the present King of Belgium). *Baron Fischler,* Envoy.

d. Saxe-Hildburghausen.

Baron Baumbach, Envoy.

7. Brunswick.

The Duke. *Baron Schmidt-Phiseldeck,* Envoy.

8. Oldenburg.

Prince Alexander. *Dowager Grand Duchess Catherine,* sister of the Emperor Alexander, and betrothed, during the Congress, to the Crown Prince William (the present king) of Würtemberg. *Baron Maltzahn,* Envoy.

9. Nassau.

The Dukes of Nassau-Usingen, and *Weilburg*, and *the Hereditary Prince of Weilburg. Baron Marschall*, Envoy.

10. Hesse.

The Elector, and the Envoys, *Count Keller and Baron Lepel. The Hereditary Prince of Darmstadt*, and the Envoy *Baron Türckheim. The Landgraves of Hesse-Rothenburg* and *Philippsthal. Prince Louis of Hesse-Homburg.*

11. Mecklengburg.

The Hereditary Prince of Strelitz, and the Envoys, *Baron Plessen* for Schwerin, and *Baron Oertzen* for Strelitz.

12. Anhalt.

The Hereditary Prince of Dessau, and the Envoy, *Baron von Wolframsdorf.*

13. Reuss.

The Hereditary Prince of Greitz and of *Schleitz*, and the Envoy *Baron von Wiese* (also accredited for Liechtenstein).

14. Lippe.

The Prince of Lippe-Schaumburg. Envoy (for Walduck also), *Von Berg.* Envoy for Detmold, *Hellwing.*

15. Schwarzburg.

For Rudolstadt, the Envoy, *Von Kettelhodt;* and for Sondershausen, the Envoy, *Von Weise.*

16. Hohenzollern.

The Princes of Siegmaringen and *Hechingen;* and the Envoys, *Von Kirchner*, and *Von Franck.*

17. Free Cities.

Lübeck, *Mr. Hach.* Hamburg, *Mr. Gries.* Bremen, *Mr. Smidt;* and Frankfort, *Mr. Danz.*

18. German Mediatized Princes.

The Duke of Aremberg. The Prince of Neuwied, and his brother. *The Prince of Salm Kyrburg. The Hereditary Princes of Löwenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg*, and of *Solms Braunfels. Prince Taxis.*

19. Russia.

The Emperor Alexander, and *the Empress Elisabeth.*

Grand Duke Constantine. The Grand Duchesses Maria and *Catherine,* mentioned with Weimar and Oldenburg.

Count Andrew Rassumowsky, first Plenipotentiary at the Congress. *Count Stackelberg,* until then Ambassador at Vienna, second Plenipotentiary. *Count Nesselrode,* Secretary of State, third Plenipotentiary. *Baron von Stein,* the Prussian Ex-Minister, Alexander's adviser with regard to German affairs. *Prince Adam Czartorisky,* a personal friend of Alexander's, even from their youth. *Count Pozzo di Borgo,* Russian Ambassador in Paris; *Count Capo d'Istria,* Russian Ambassador in Switzerland, afterwards President of Greece.*

The Generals: — *Ouwaroff. Prince Wolkonsky. Czernitscheff. Cholenitschew-Kutusoff. Trubetzkoi. Count Witt. Jomini. Potocky. Tettenborn.*

Prince Narischkin, Lord Chamberlain. *Prince Gagerin,* Master of the Horse. *Prince Gallitzin,* Lord Steward of the Empress.

20. ENGLAND.

Lord Castlereagh, Chief Ambassador of Great Britain at the Congress; and the three other Plenipotentiaries: — *Lord Stewart* (the late Marquess of Londonderry), *Lord Clancarty,* and *Lord Cathcart.* The *Duke of Wellington* afterwards succeeded Lord Castlereagh as Chief Ambassador; he arrived at Vienna on the 1st of February, 1815.

Admiral *Sir Sidney Smith. Sir Stratford Canning. The Duke of Argyle. Count Münster,* the Hanoverian Cabinet Minister. *Count Hardenberg*: *Mr.,* afterwards *Sir Thomas Laurence.*

21. FRANCE.

Prince de Talleyrand, chief Ambassador, and three Plenipotentiaries: *Duc de Dalberg*†; *Comte Latour du Pin; Alexis de Noailles.*

M. Isabey, painter to the Court.

* Alexander Ypsilanti also was at the Congress, in the suite of the Emperor Alexander.

† A nephew of the Elector of Mayence. When he called on Baron Stein, the latter sent him word, "that if the Duc were coming as ambassador of France, he would receive him; but if he were coming as M. de Dalberg, he would have him kicked down stairs.

22. Denmark.

The King and his brother-in-law, *the Duke of Holstein-Beck.*

Minister *Count Bernstorf.* Minister *Von Rosenkranz.*

23. Rome.

The Secretary of State, *Cardinal Gonsalvi.*

24. Spain.

Chevalier de Labrador, Ambassador at Vienna.

25. The Two Sicilies.

Minister, *Duca di Campo Chiaro. Commendatore Ruffo,* Ambassador at Vienna. *Duca di Serra Capriola,* Ambassador at St. Petersburg. *General Filangieri.*

26. Portugal.

Count Palmella, Ambassador at Vienna; *Count Lobo da Silveyra.*

27. Switzerland.

John von Reinhard, Ambassador at Vienna. *Charles Pictet de Rochemont,* Envoy of Geneva. *Vincent de Salis,* President of the Helvetic Confederation. *Daniel de Salis,* Judge of Coire.

28. Netherlands, Nassau, and Orange.

Barons Von Spön and *Von Gagern.*

29. Sweden.

Count Löwenhielm.

30. Sardinia.

Marquis de St. Marsan.

31. *Eugène Beauharnois,* Viceroy of Italy.

Among the festivities, of which there was one continual round from beginning to end, particular mention is due to a banquet which the Emperor Francis gave on the 18th of October, as the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig: 16,000 men of the army dined in the avenues of the Prater, and on Sömmering Common, with the monarchs and generals, amid a concourse of 200,000 spectators

Before the guests sat down to dinner, a solemn service was performed. The imperial and royal personages dined at two tables, in the pavillion of the Prater. At one of the tables, the Emperor Francis did the honours; and at the other, the Archduke Charles. Royal salutes were fired whilst Francis proposed the three toasts, "To the health of my guests," — "To the health of all the generals," — and "The allied armies." Alexander added a fourth — "Prince Schwarzenberg."

Göthe once said to Rahel, "the Congress cannot be described, because it had no shape;" and his words will be borne out by any one who attempts the task. The accounts by Varnhagen and Count de Lagarde are well known; but they are inferior in distinctness of outline to the sketches of character which are given of the principal persons assembled there, by Count Nostitz — then a colonel in the Russian service — in his lately published memoirs. The following are extracts from his diary:—

"Public opinion years ago was unanimous in praising the honesty and uprightness of the Emperor Alexander. People called him *rêve chevalier*, by which flattering predicate they meant to disguise the insinuation that he was wanting in firmness of character. But the experience of the last few years has gradually brought people to think differently of him. The Congress has now revealed the real truth of the matter; and the Emperor is found to be a shrewd man, of a very earnest will, who not unfrequently, on nearer acquaintance, dispels the illusions concerning him. For this very reason, he studiously and systematically tries to keep up the illusion by apparent unconcern and *abandon;* always taking care to show himself, on the promenades and in other public places, arm-in-arm with most insignificant people, who have nothing to recommend them but their looks and youthful sprightliness, but are otherwise known to be of narrow intellect and ignorant of the ways of the world."

"Metternich has displayed so much cunning and subtilty in England, that the Russians call him a very adroit and wily diplomatist. The Minister has a natural talent for mystifying every one, with which in social intercourse he drives people to desperation, and which, in the cabinet, he has now brought to such perfection, that, with the help of *politesse*, and of a studied ease of manners, it is expected to become a protecting shield for Austria."

About Gentz, Nostitz, after his departure from Vienna, wrote to Varnhagen, from Dresden, "Yesterday I was requested to act as cicerone, in explaining the figures in an indifferent Vienna engraving, representing all the great personages assembled in Congress. I pointed out to the company a smartly dressed man, standing at the side near the table; and I told them that was the *Aulic Councillor Gentz, who, like Judas with the bag, was keeping apart with the inkstand.*"

Hormayr gives an explanation of this: he tells us that "Gentz might have been called the real Grand Pensionary of Europe. He had afterwards drawn pensions even from the poor Greeks, whilst yet he always helped the Turks against the Russians; and besides this, Gentz had trembled before every thing, even at the hissing of an angry goose."

Nostitz continues, "Gentz has become old and gray; his soul and body tremble with a continual shiver, from having caught cold—physically and morally ——"

"Hardenberg is the best spoken of; he is a man who is gentle, liberal, and now even firm. He has a faithful support in (William von) Humboldt."

"Talleyrand looks at the political arena, as from another world,—never mind whether it be from the infernal regions,—and does nothing except send notes in all directions to remind the people, individually, of their own advantage; thus making them obstinate, and setting them on against each other. The negotiators, instead of being

guided by substantial political knowledge, only grasp at what is nearest at hand; and even intentionally jump at shams and falsities, in order to gain their real object by a show of compliance. Tricks like these form the cunning basis of that mystification which, with such effrontery, is carried on in the great world. This state of things has its source in the state of our society, *in the intercourse with women, in which our present Ministers have so often run a race, and the artifices of which they now carry over into the conduct of the highest affairs, as a substitute for those intellectual and scientific aids which used formerly to be employed. Metternich is a leading performer on this arena, in the spirit of a great diplomatic partisan, just as Napoleon has often acted like a great military one.* Without a really settled basis of the political system of Europe, *Metternich wants to drive back the Russians, dans leurs frimas.* He wants all the Powers to assist him in his diplomatic crusade against the Neo-Turks; *yet he never encourages any one by firmness, honesty, and manliness . . .* The discontent of the people, the disappointment and the want of confidence, are too great; dangerous storms therefore are sure to burst forth bye and bye."

The principal question to be treated at the Congress was, what to do with Saxony. Nostitz remarks with reference to it, "If we penetrate through the polished deceitful surface, *we meet with miserable intrigue instead of frankness, with jealousy instead of confidence, with narrow-mindedness instead of liberality. People seem scarcely any longer to know for what purpose the Monarchs are assembled here. Some call it the restoration of the royalist principle,* and, in its consequences, the re-installation of those potentates who have been unlawfully deprived of their countries. This principle is to lead Frederick Augustus back to his throne. Russia, on the other hand, says: *Que s'il y avait un malheur, il valait mieux celui de la dynastie, que du pays.*" The Prussians assert, "that the question was not

about the ruler alone, but likewise about the country; and that the position of Saxony itself made her incorporation with Prussia necessary, as soon as the loss of Southern Prussia (the Polish provinces) deprived the country of its topographical basis, on which its safety in the north and west alike rested. Humboldt speaks quite undisguisedly of this military and political motive of their demands; Hardenberg and the king likewise are completely taken by this idea; and the Prussian people rests its ambition and its safety on the possession of Saxony, with such pertinacity that only a short time ago, an address from the country has offered to the king every possible aid and sacrifice for maintaining it."

"The Russian Emperor, following his own will, holds to Prussia, which does not want to give up one village, and relies on her own 260,000 men, and on a Russian army in Poland commanded by Barclay, and said to amount to 360,000; not to reckon the guards at St. Petersburg, nor the army of the South, under Bennigsen, — amounting to from 60,000 to 80,000,— nor the Cossacks."

"The Emperor Francis, in his simple way, says of all the political moves and counter-moves, 'Why, it's after all very hard to drive a king from his throne.'"

"About Poland, people quarrel just as fiercely; nor is anything decided concerning it. There are some who would like to give Prussia some millions of new subjects in that country; to turn her off from Germany, and to push Russia farther into the East. So far from Metternich attaining his object by creating a collision between the interests of Russia and Prussia, the two, on the contrary, have united in energetic opposition against him, and persist in claiming Saxony for Prussia, and Poland for Russia."

"Metternich has of late gained great ascendancy in the negotiations, owing to Lord Castlereagh having unexpectedly joined his party. The Prince Regent, in a

thundering despatch, had enjoined the minister of Great Britain not to act in the spirit of monarchical *sans-culottism*, but to support the principle of preserving the dynasties; and not to allow any revolutionary ideas and tendencies to gain ground, like those advocated until now. The noble lord, in consequence, completely changed his mind, which very agreeably surprised Metternich. The Emperor Alexander, who always liked to carry on the negotiations in personal interviews with Metternich, sent for him. Emboldened by the countenance of the converted English plenipotentiary, Metternich discussed with the Emperor the points under consideration with such vehemence, that the altercation was heard in the ante-room. The Emperor then wished to draw Minister Stein into the conference; but Metternich refused to treat with the baron on any of the matters recently mooted."

Metternich's chief support in the Russian Cabinet was Count Nesselrode; who therefore enjoyed scarcely any credit at the Conference, as Alexander had withdrawn his confidence from him, on account of his close connection with Metternich and Gentz. "He had lost his influence," writes Stein, "on account of his incapacity, and his blind devotedness to Metternich, which often caused him to act contrary to the views of the Emperor, or to give them only a lukewarm support. His mediocrity, ignorance, and narrow-mindedness, his want of courage in difficult situations, never allowed him long to rank high. He necessarily sank low as soon as he tried to be anything but the tool of his master, and as soon as he arrogated to himself a sort of independence which he did not owe to the resources of his own mind, whilst he allowed himself to be guided by the influence of a foreign minister who was hateful to his emperor." This tutelage went very far. One day his colleague, Count Rassumowsky, ascending with Capo d'Istria the staircase of Metternich's official residence, met Nesselrode, who was just sneaking down.

Rassumowsky then called out to him, "*Ho, ho! Monsieur le Comte, vous négociez comme cela sous cappe — venez, montez avec nous, aidez nous à combattre!*"

The ladies played a very prominent part at the Congress. According to Count de Lagarde, there were mentioned among these plenipotentiaries of drawing-room diplomacy — for France, the Countess Edmond de Talleyrand-Perigord, *née* Biron; for Prussia, The Princess Taxis (sister of Queen Louisa of Prussia); for England, Emily, Lady Castlereagh; for Denmark, The Countess Bernstorf; for Russia, The Princess Bagration.* The German diplomatists used to meet at Prince Metternich's and at Baron Humboldt's. The high aristocracy of Vienna did everything in their power to make their houses as agreeable as possible; and the potentates of finance were not behindhand in getting up the most sumptuous entertainments. At a *fête* which Baron Arnstein gave to the Congress in the middle of winter, all the rooms were decorated with trees, from which the guests might pluck peaches, cherries, and apricots.

"The Emperor Alexander," Nostitz writes, "gives himself up with more than common attention to the ladies here; so that the fair Russians seem to be quite jealous of it. His gallantry has characterised the beauties here each by a different term: *la beauté coquette*, Caroline Szeeheny; *la beauté triviale*, Sophie Ziehy; *la beauté étonnante*, Rosina Esterhazy; *la beauté céleste*, Julie Ziehy; *la beauté du diable*, Countess Sauerma; and *la beauté qui inspire seule du vrai sentiment*, Gabriella Auersperg.†"

* The Princess Catherine Bagration, was a daughter of the Polish General Count Paul Scravonsky, great niece of Potemkin, and widow of General Prince Bagration, who was killed in 1812, near Mojaisk. In 1830, she married Lord Howden.

† All these ladies were married. Julie Ziehy (*la beauté céleste*) was greatly admired by the King of Prussia; Countess Auersperg, daughter of Prince Lobkowitz, and since 1812 the widow of Prince Vincent Auersperg, was still alive in 1848.

From the writings of Gentz, we may see that the Duchess of Sagan, enjoying the intimacy of Metternich as well as of Alexander, had the greatest influence. "The Emperor," it is stated in the Life of Stein, by Pertz, "reproached Metternich for crossing him in all his plans," and told him that "the public of Vienna blamed him for it." Metternich replied, "He was at a loss what to answer, as the Emperor combined in himself the two characters of a ruler and a minister." Alexander, without any reserve, expressed to many ladies his aversion to Metternich, and spoke of his own intention to restore Poland. To Metternich's mother, who was then alive, he said, "*I despise every man who does not wear a uniform;*" and he induced the Duchess of Sagan completely to break off her connection with Metternich, by remarking to her "It is not fitting that you should be leagued with a red-tapist" (Schreiber).

Nostitz is rather hard upon the "English."* "The English women," he says, "make us laugh at their strange attire. They are the Seven Sleepers, who now again (after the raising of the Continental blockade) come forth from their secluded cavern to town, where they have become strangers. Lady Castlereagh is colossal and clumsy; her dress always startling by the most ridiculous variety of tawdry and *outré* finery. Her manners are hoydenish and reckless; always boisterous, and always chattering, she is the fun of the company, and is like mine hostess of the Congress."

"Lord Stewart is an insolent Englishman, who seems inclined to tread every one under his feet. The hackney-coach men, the soundest specimens in the human menagerie of Vienna, have paid off his lordship. Whatever the

* The people on the Continent never distinguish between English, Scotch, and Irish, all of whom they comprise under the general term of "English."

newspapers may say in praise of his athletic strength, his magnificence, and liberality; yet it is not the less true that the *fiacres* have treated his lordship to a most tremendous thrashing."

Nostitz, in his diary, continues, "The persons taken least notice of at Vienna, are the princes, because people are so accustomed to seeing them."

"The Emperor Alexander is brilliant, but simple; his bearing proud, yet affable; his taste for ladies' society is so manifest, that his own countrywomen are sometimes quite annoyed at the attentions which their monarch shows to their Viennese rivals. But his favours, as far at least as is known, do not go beyond the limits of public social intercourse."

"The King of Prussia always looks as if full of wrath and anger; yet, although he may sometimes feed on this dainty, which is very plentiful at the Congress, appearances are deceitful. On the contrary, his feelings are rather tender and sensitive; and he shows a very romantic constancy for Julie Zichy, which might perhaps be interpreted as force of habit. The lady now knows by heart in what manner the troops are drawn up on parade at Potsdam, how the Prussian army was formerly dressed, and how it is dressed at present; in return of which, she regales her royal admirer with sublimity and religion. These conversations often last whole evenings, in confidential but apparently very gloomy *tête-à-têtes*."

"Prince Augustus* is the *ennui* of the company. Phrases and questions come from his lips with the most deadening monotony. How is it possible that knowledge, a handsome appearance, and princely birth, combined in one person, should ever become so unbearable?"

* Brother of that Prince Louis who, in 1806, fell near Saalfeld. Prince Augustus, born in 1779, died in 1848.

"Prince William * is the pet of the ladies; his bashful reserve puzzles the sex. '*Qu'il serait intéressant, s'il n'était point de la manchette!*'"

"The King of Bavaria (Maximilian) looks like a cross, ill-tempered, Bavarian waggoner; but has an air of honesty and uprightness about him. He is the most *bourgeois* King."

"The Crown Prince of Bavaria is ill-looking: the colour of his hair, as if washed out; his mouth, toothless; his carriage and figure, ordinary. He is a prince who means to do what is good; but will never do it, if it costs money and resolution. He is fond of talking, and, if it will not do any other way, resorts to questions, which he sometimes blurts out rather awkwardly; but he prefers to expatiate on the favourite theme of German patriotism, &c. *The Germany of the Bavarians, however, does not extend beyond the frontiers of their own country.* The prince is hard to understand, and still harder of hearing. His manner is kind and obliging; no one, however, would take it for gracious, as it is so offhanded and insipid."

"Prince Charles of Bavaria is a young sprightly lad, to whom his position, his youth, and his good looks give *un air de fatuité*, which is so often borne by the favourites of fortune. He promises well as a soldier; but he is a great *enragé*."

"The Grand Duke of Baden (Charles) is tall, dark, empty, and healthy."

"Count Hochberg, is a well made young man, who has seen much of the world, to whom, however, nothing seems to have stuck but his profession. His conversation is very ordinary; but he is an able soldier."

"The Duke of Coburg is a tall and powerful man.

* * * * *

"The old Duke of Weimar † lives on in the same uncon-

* Born in 1783, and died in 1851, brother of King Frederic William III

† Charles Augustus, the friend of Göthe.

cerned student's fashion which has always been his way. He is pleased with the world, and is still bound to it by his love of pleasure, although his activity has been damped by his years. *

The Congress made no progress; which caused the Prince de Ligny, who died in the midst of all the rejoicings, to say: "Le Congrès danse, mais il ne marche pas; and the gentlemen act proverbs without end." Rahel Varnhagen, taking a similar view of the case, wrote to her family at Berlin: "Now I know what a Congress is; a large party where there is nothing but amusement, so that people are loath to separate."

One must not suppose that Count Nostitz had taken too gloomy a view of the state of affairs; Stein looked upon it just in the same light. He wrote to his wife, as far back as on the 16th of November, 1814: "Would to heaven that our business might be soon and favourably brought to an end: but I confess to you that I am very uneasy concerning the issue; and all the base passions of

* The immensely stout King Frederic of Würtemberg, whose arrival a witty newspaper in Paris once announced by the paragraph, "Sa Majesté de Würtemberg a entré Paris, *ventre-à-terre*," and who in more than one respect would have offered very salient points to the satire of Count Nostitz, has not found a place in his catalogue, merely because he had, on the day after Christmas, already taken his sudden departure from Vienna, highly indignant at the little respect which was paid to his duodecimo kingdom, and greatly annoyed at a certain little accident which had happened to him the evening before. At home he had in all his dining-tables, at the spot where he used to sit, a half circle cut out to accommodate his enormous corpulency. At Vienna, of course, the table was not contrived in this fashion for him. On Christmas evening, which he passed with the great monarchs, he had to hear many things which he did not like: but he swallowed his anger, until some very obnoxious remark cut him to the quick; then the misfortune happened: his Majesty started up from his chair, overturning the table with every thing that was upon it. The next morning he was on his way to Stuttgart, after having left behind a profusion of gold snuff-boxes, and thousands of ducats, to the *antichambre*, and to the people of the kitchen, stable, and cellar; which suggested to Count Nostitz the not very reverential remark, "*Le plus gueux est le plus généreux.*"

men seem to be unchained, to destroy our hopes and to throw us back into new complications, the consequences of which are incalculable and most alarming. Let us hope that God will help us to find a way out of this abyss, *into which the thoughtlessness and knavery of some, and the perverse judgment of others, threaten to hurl us. It is now the time of littlenesses and mediocrities; they all turn up again, and reoccupy their old places; and those men who have staked their all, are forgotten and neglected.*"

The Saxon and the Polish questions were far from being settled. Things came to such a pass, that, as Prussia sided with Russia against Austria and England, the two latter Powers deemed it best to throw themselves into the arms of conquered France; in consequence of which, a secret offensive and defensive alliance was concluded, on the 3rd of January 1815, between Austria, England, and France, against Russia and Prussia.

This was the state of affairs, when on the 5th of March, 1815, the heads of the Congress — whilst they were just assembled in the apartments of the Empress of Austria to see *tableaux vivans* — received news from the English consul at Leghorn that Napoleon had left Elba.

In the beginning of April, the Russian Conseiller de Legation, Budjakin, who had been left behind in Paris as the successor of Pozzo di Borgo, arrived at Vienna, and handed to the Emperor Alexander the identical document of the treaty which the three Powers had concluded on the 3rd of January against him. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jaucourt, on setting out for his flight with Louis XVIII. to Lisle (20th of March), had left the document lying on the king's table at the Tuileries. This treaty, which Francis had secretly concluded against Alexander and Frederic William, — his allies and guests, who were staying under his own roof, — had all the time remained a secret from the two monarchs and their ministers. A scene now followed which is thus described

by General Wolzogen in his Memoirs: — "On the day after Budjakin's arrival at Vienna, the Emperor Alexander sent at an early hour for Stein, showed him the treaty, and said to him, 'I have requested Prince Metternich also to attend; and I wish you to be present as a witness of this interview.' When the Prince soon after entered the room, Alexander held out the paper to him, and asked, 'Do you know this?' The Prince tried to answer evasively; but the Emperor cut him short, saying to him, 'Metternich, as long as we live, this subject shall never be mentioned between us again; now, however, we have something else to do —— Napoleon is returned; our alliance must therefore be closer than ever.' With these words he flung the treaty into the fire which was blazing in the chimney by his side, and dismissed both gentlemen. From that time, Alexander, who until then had always disliked Metternich, and had even tried to remove him from about the Emperor Francis, kept good friends with him to the last day of his life."

The King of Saxony, who was waiting at Pressburg for the decision of the Congress, received, on the 8th of March, the announcement that the partition of his country had been decided upon. On the 13th of March, the Declaration of the Eight Powers was issued, which put Napoleon under the ban of Europe. As a curious fact, it may be mentioned that — as Gneisenau, on the 16th of March, 1815, wrote to the Princess Louisa of Prussia — Napoleon's wife expressed her great joy at the return of her husband to France: of his departure from Elba, she had known sooner than the Congress.

In the meanwhile, Prussia and England had taken the field. Blücher and Wellington conquered Napoleon at Waterloo, on the 18th of June. On the 10th of July, the Monarchs of Austria, Prussia, and Russia — who, on the 26th and 27th of May, left Vienna, and had gone by Munich and Stuttgart to the head quarters at Heilbronn

— made, for the second time, their appearance in Paris. The Emperor Francis remained in the French capital until the 29th of September, and then returned home by Switzerland and the Tyrol; on the 31st of October, he was back in Vienna. On the 26th of September, the Holy Alliance was signed; on the 20th of November, the second Peace of Paris was concluded.

7. DEATH OF THE EMPEROR FRANCIS. — PERSONAL NOTICES OF HIM. — DEATH OF GENTZ. — HIS FAMILY.

THE Emperor Francis died at the age of sixty-seven, in 1835. He has been very differently judged by different persons; and certainly it is not an easy task to form an opinion of such a reserved character as his. Hormayr called him "Emperor-Tartuffe;" and no doubt there was some very good reason for this epithet.

A certain class of people, who had very weighty reasons for extolling the merits of Francis to the skies, have given him the character, which even outlasted his death, of having been a very good-natured ruler to his subjects, and especially to the Viennese. Many facts were quoted in proof of this assertion, such as his having allowed himself to be consulted by his beloved Viennese about the marriages of their children and about other domestic matters, when he would give to the burghers many a piece of homely and friendly advice. Great stress was also laid upon his having in his will left "his love to his people." But Francis best knew himself whether he was as good-natured as he was thought to be; indeed, he very often sneered with the most sarcastic witticisms at the fulsome praise with which people extolled his good nature. But he was quite pleased that he should have that character; as in all his life he enjoyed nothing better than to be taken for something different from what he really was.

This was his highest ambition; and he would rather lose in respect than be rightly understood and seen through.

Behind the mask of good nature thus assumed by Francis, a craftiness, heartlessness, and harshness lay concealed, from which Metternich himself shrunk back. In a very remarkable letter, written by an evidently well-informed person, in the year 1813, and communicated by Hormayr, in the "Lebensbilder" (Pictures from Life), it is said: "People have talked a great deal about the qualities of the Emperor's heart; *now I take upon myself to call him one of the most cold-hearted and selfish men that have ever existed. He has lived with the Empress Theresa in the most happy union; but he bore the loss of the mother of twelve of his children with singular apathy. He is capable of giving—with a cold, so to say petrified, countenance—to any unfortunate sufferer, the answer, 'Well, well, we'll see about it;' yet he never does anything.*" The letter goes on expatiating on the means which were employed to induce Francis to make war on Napoleon, and then continues: "Schiller says that '*no one is more readily inclined to war than spiritual princes and weak monarchs.*' This is most particularly the case with Francis, who has always a hankering after war; for in that great game of chance, he may hope, without any excessive exertion of his own, to recover, by some lucky accident, a state of power and independence."

The aversion to all kinds of serious business, which he showed after the death of his father, never left him all his life. He turned quite pale if business was even mentioned. Once a fortnight he would, as a matter of form, attend the Council; and then, when he returned, he complained to his valet what a bore it was to him. The critical situation of the monarchy at last compelled him to take at least an ostensible share in the government; which he did, after his own fashion, by reserving to himself all the petty affairs which gratified his curiosity, especially

reading the reports of the secret police, and giving audience, or receiving in person information from his spies; whilst the great business of the state was in fact exclusively conducted by Metternich and those under his orders. Even as late as in 1809, Gentz speaks of "the absolute want of character of Francis;" a testimony which deserves to be credited, being given by a man who knew the Emperor well, and who was shrewd enough to form a correct opinion of him.

Yet, although Francis was completely incapable of conducting any business of importance, one thing must be said of him—he never allowed himself to be ruled; indeed he counted himself a sort of demi-god. When the cholera broke out in Vienna, in 1831, he proclaimed by placards that the malady was not infectious; and he was believed. "He himself," writes Count Mailath, "spoke to me about it, and expressed his gratification that one proclamation had sufficed completely to change the ideas of the Viennese." *Francis himself, however, had gone off to Schönbrunn.*

The political creed of Francis was the most narrow-minded absolutism. His speech, "*The people! what of that? I know nothing of the people, I know only of subjects,*" has become a matter of history, as likewise the following: "Oh! it's quite possible that another half million of Greeks must perish by the sword. When the land is a desert and the population exterminated, we shall not want many more protocols. *Mankind requires, from time to time, a copious bleeding; otherwise its condition becomes inflammatory, and then the delirium of liberalism breaks out.*" In 1821, the Emperor, in a dog Latin which has never been surpassed, and which was put in his mouth by Count Charles Zichy, spoke to his faithful Hungarian lieges as follows: "*Totus mundus stultizat, et constitutiones imaginarias quærit. Vos habetis constitutionem, et ego amo illam et illæsam ad posteros transmittam.*" In February,

1822, the body physician, Baron Stifft, a man who enjoyed the Emperor's particular regard and confidence, said to Francis: "This cough, although harassing, does not alarm me, as I have known your Majesty so long. There is, after all, nothing like a good constitution." "What do you say?" cried the Emperor; "we have known each other very long, Stifft; but let me never hear that word again: say robust health, or, if you like, a strong bodily system; but *there is no such thing as a good constitution. I have no constitution, and will never have one.*"

Francis very frequently remitted the punishments of culprits who had committed civil crimes — murder, theft, fraud, and especially defalcation of public money; but he never granted a pardon to any one imprisoned for political offences. He used to say, "*With respect to granting pardons, I am a very bad Christian; it goes against the grain with me. Metternich is much more merciful.*" The pertinacity with which Francis carried out his narrow-minded absolutism, prompted him to cruelties which sadly belied the character of "good father Francis" for kind-heartedness. The political prisoners of Spielberg, such as Sylvio Pellico, Andriani, Gonfalonieri, Ottoboni, Foresti, Solera, and others, who pined away years of agony in dreary dungeons, have experienced in themselves what the justice and mercy of Francis was. Metternich was never able to obtain an amnesty for the Lombards; which was granted only after the death of Francis, under Ferdinand.

Hormayr gives an example of what refinement of cruelty Francis was capable. A young man of good education, who was bullied by his officers on account of supposed liberal opinions, had twice deserted. He was sentenced to the most severe form of "running the rods." In his despair and agony of pain, he snatched the musket from the corporal escorting him, and fired at the major, who was present at the punishment. Although he missed

his aim, he now hoped to be put to death. Francis, however, wrote with his own hand the order: — "*He wishes to die; he shall not die. He is pardoned, with five years' hard labour in a fortress; and every year, on the anniversary of his insubordination, he shall run the rods.*"

Even in his advanced age, Francis remained faithful to his earliest tastes, of manufacturing varnish, and sealing-wax, and lacquered and carved boxes, and birdcages. He also amused himself with angling and bird-catching, and occupied himself with natural history and botany. One of his favourite resorts was the beautifully kept garden, with magnificent green and hothouses, not far from his apartments in the Hofburg. There he beguiled his time with all the little operations of floriculture; and his incognito sometimes gave rise to very amusing scenes. The garden saloons of Schönbrunn were likewise a great resource of enjoyment to the Emperor; there he gave, in summer, his secret audiences.

The Empress Ludovica, the third wife of Francis, was, by all accounts, an amiable and clever lady, who took great interest in literature. To wile away the time, which hung heavy at Court, she, like Queen Louisa of Prussia, used to indulge in the perusal of the novels of Auguste Lafontaine. She died without having borne any children to the Emperor, on the 7th of April, 1816. Scarcely six months after, the bereaved imperial widower married a fourth time. The new Empress was Charlotte, daughter of King Maximilian of Bavaria. She had been married to the Crown Prince of Würtemberg; but the marriage never having been consummated, the Pope granted a divorce.*

* The match was arranged in order to escape from the dilemma of a marriage with the Bonaparte family. It was in contemplation to marry the Crown Prince William to Stephanie Beauharnois, and Princess Charlotte to Eugène Beauharnois, who after all married her elder sister, Princess Augusta. — *Tr.*

The Empress Charlotte was twenty-four years younger than Francis; and she has survived him.

The Emperor Francis, the "People's Emperor," as his last wife styled him, might be seen during the latter years of his life, following, with taper in hand, the procession of Corpus Christi. He was then a spare, stooping figure, with a high, narrow forehead, over which his hair fell in scanty silver locks; with very stern blue eyes, and an equally stern cast of features. Notwithstanding this very un-ideal aspect, one of his admirers — the last of the Sinzendorfs — wanted to erect to his memory a monument, consisting of a bust of forty feet high, which was "to overlook, from one of the hills in Austria, all the Imperial states." The bust was bespoken of the Viennese sculptor Kiessling; but the work went no farther than the model, in which the cheeks of the long face of the Emperor had the appearance of a large white wall.

It was rather characteristic, that from the pillow on which "the People's Emperor" had died, feathers were distributed to the ladies of the nobility in Vienna.

We have still to mention the death of Gentz. The last words which he wrote to his old friend Rahel, on the 13th of November, 1831, were, "*What an insipid thing life is.*" Gentz died on the 9th of June, 1832. Varnhagen (Rahel's husband) writes about it — "He who, throughout his life, had trembled at the idea of death, now at its approach looked it in the face with courage and resolution. His death was painless, and almost without any struggle, as his sensibility had ebbed away together with his powers. He was affectionately tended by loving hands to his last moment. The favour of Heaven, which had granted him so much, seemed to have reserved the greatest gift for the last, in giving him a peaceful end." Gentz, at least as far as is publicly known, was never converted to Popery.

The Emperor Francis, at his death, left five children by the second of his four wives — two sons and three daughters:—

I. Ferdinand I., the still surviving Emperor of Austria, who abdicated in 1848. He was born in 1793.

II. The second prince, Francis Charles, was born in 1802. He married, in 1824, Sophie of Bavaria. By this marriage there are four sons:—

1. Francis Joseph, the present Emperor, born in 1830; who, in 1848, after the resignation of his uncle and of his father, ascended the imperial throne of Austria.

2. Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, intended to be High Admiral of Austria, perhaps of Germany; but of rather delicate health.

3. Archduke Charles, born in 1833.

4. Archduke Louis, born in 1842.

The daughters of the Emperor Francis were: —

I. Marie Louise, born in 1791; in 1810, married to Napoleon. She died in 1847.

II. The second daughter of the Emperor Francis became the wife of Prince Leopold of Sicily.

III. The third, Maria Anna, remained unmarried.

Two daughters had died before the father.

IV. Leopoldina, the first wife of the Emperor Don Pedro, of Brazil. And,

V. Caroline, consort of the late King Frederic Augustus of Saxony.

The dynasty to whose reign the darkest pages of the Austrian history belong, is extinct; the House of Habsburg lies entombed in the vaults of the Capuchins, in

Vienna. The firstborn of the heiress of Habsburg, the first ruler from the new House of Habsburg-Lorraine, stands at the beginning of the modern history of the country, with a halo encircling his head, the splendour of which may be dimmed, but certainly is not deadened, by the record of his numerous political blunders: to him who lived for his country, "not long, but entirely," there still remains such a rich share of glory that he might endow with it hundreds of his brethren; and they would each of them have a meed of honour.

Between Joseph II. and Francis Joseph I. there lies an interval of sixty years. To subject this period to a severe historical analysis, cannot in any way derogate from the authority or the love which are a necessity to the young monarch who at present presides over the destinies of Austria. All those who have come near him agree in stating him to be eminently an amiable character; he needs, therefore, to borrow from his predecessors neither authority nor love. He is also separated from those sixty years by a gulf so deep and wide, that he, too, may stand with a halo round his head at the gate of the future history of Austria. Dire necessity has enforced in Austria, since the revolution of 1848, two reforms of immeasurable importance — the emancipation of the peasantry, by the law of the 9th of September, 1848; and the obligation imposed on the Hungarian magnates to take their share in the public burdens. *With these two reforms, the mediæval ideas and institutions which in Austria have protracted a lingering and rank existence into the most recent times, are at last brought to nought; and the Austrian as well as the Hungarian aristocracy, who, until now, have found it so difficult to comport themselves in any other but a mediæval spirit, will henceforth be under the necessity of taking up a position more conformable to the spirit of the present age.* These reforms, and the popularity of the

Emperor—which even must increase if he continues his career with that earnestness and courage which he has shown already—are the principal security that Austria, in her very difficult position, with ruined finances, and with Russia for her benefactor, has for her future existence.

APPENDIX A.

Vol. I. p. 16.

SAMPLES OF THE STYLE AND COURTESY IN THE TIMES OF MAXIMILIAN I.

Maximilian signed either his name only or **Maximilian Ro. Kunig.** His handwriting was exactly a copy of the Gothic printed letters of that age; small, perpendicular, placed closely together, stiff and angular.

The Council of the Netherlands to Maximilian.

(Written immediately after the death of Philip the Fair.)

Au roy notre Sire,

As a commencement: "*Sire, tant et si humblement que faire, pouvons nous recommandons à votre Sacrée Majesté.*" In the context: "*Sire.*" At the conclusion: "*Sire, commandez vous adez* (the Italian *adesso*, meaning "now") *vos bons plaisirs pour les accomplir, comme tenu y sommes. A l'aide du benoit fils de Dieu auquel prions vous donner par sa grace bonne vie et longue; avec l'entier accomplissement de vos desirs. Ecrit à Malines le 7 jour d'October ao. XV. et 6.*

Vos très humbles et obeissans sujets et serviteurs T. de Pleine, N. evecque d'Arras, C. de Croy, P. de Lannoy, H. de Wittem, seigneur de Veerssel et autres du conseil par cidevant ordonnés par le dit feu seigneur roy notre Sire pour ses pays par deça (the Netherlands).

Maximilian to his Son Philip.

A notre très cher et très aimé fils l'archiduc d'Autriche, Prince d'Espaigne, Duc de Bourgogne, de Brabant, &ctr. *conte d'Absbourg et de Flandres,* &ctr.

" Très cher & très aimé fils. Nous avons reçu vos lettres &ctr." In the context: *" Très cher et très aimé fils."* At the conclusion: *" A tant très cher et très aimé fils notre seigneur soit garde de vous."*

En notre ville de Füssen le 29 jour
d' Octobre l'an 1501

MAXIMILIEN, *M. P.*
MARMIER, *secretaire, M. P.*

Philip to his Father Maximilian.

A mon très redouté seigneur et père, monseigneur le roy des Romans.

" Mon très redouté seigneur & père. Je me recommande si humblement que faire puis à votre grace." In the context: *" Mon très redouté seigneur & père."* At the conclusion: *" Plaise vous adcs me commander vos bons plaisirs et je mettrai peine de les accomplir à mon pouvoir, aydant notre seigneur, qui vous, monseigneur, donne bonne vie et longue avec entier accomplissement de vos très nobles desirs. Ecrit à Bruxelles, le* 15 *jour de Mars l'an* 1496.

(*M. P.*)

Votre très humble et très obeissant fils,

PHILIPPUS.

Autograph Letter of Margaret, Daughter of Maximilian to her Father.

" Au roy monseigneur mon père."

Monseigneur! Je vous mercie très humblement de votre gracieuse lettre, car il me semble que vous avez souvenance de moi. Et, monseigneur, il vous a plu m'écrire, comme vous desirez que votre ambassadeur Loupian soit en place de feu don Ladron (as lord steward). *Vous pouvez bien penser Monseigneur, que puisqu'il vous plait, que je ne desircrois rien tant, que de le faire. Mais, monseigneur, votre lettre est venu trop tard ; car le roy et la reine à la requête de monseigneur le Prince, qui ne savoit pas votre volonté l'ont donné à Fonceq.—Je l'ai prié de vous écrire aucune chose ; je vous supplie de vouloir croire en ce qu'il vous dira, car je ne le puis vous ecrire. Je ne vous écrirai autre chose, si non de me recommander très humblement à votre bonne grace. Fait de la main de*

Votre très humble et très obéissante fille la princesa.
(As princess of Spain).

Letter of Maximilian to his grandson Ferdinand (afterwards the Emperor Ferdinand I.) in Spain.

Serenissimo Don Ferdinando, Infanti Castiliæ, filio nostro charissimo.

Maximilianus divina favente clementia electus Romanorum imperator semper Augustus.

Serenissime Infans, fili noster charissime. Salutem & paternam benedictionem, &c. Redeunte itaque ad catholicum regem fratrem nostrum et patrem tuum colendissimum honorabili. Aloysio Gylaberto familiare suo, qui apud nos fuit, injunximus ei, ut te visitet, salutet, et incolumitatem nostram, serenissimorum fratris et sororum tuarum tibi referat, horteturque, ut eundem catholicum patrem et serenissimas reginas matres, ac serenissimum principem fratrem tuum, sicuti bene facis, colas et observes, et sorores ames, prout ab eodem commendatore latius intelliges, cui ad nos redeunti dabis tuas literas et nos de incolumi et prospero rerum tuarum successu admonebis, et itidem serenissimis principi fratri et sororibus tuis, ut pariter nobiscum gaudeant de bono statu tuo, in quo te nobis conservet omnipotens Deus, fili charissime. Datum in oppido nostro, Inspruck, die XIII. Octobris Anno Domini 1514 regni nostri romani 29.

M. P. *Vostro bono padre* MAXIMILIANUS.
Ad mandatum Cæsareæ Majestatis proprium,
Ia. de Banissis.

From the correspondence of Maximilian with Henry VII. of England concerning the projected marriage of the latter with Margaret, the daughter of the Emperor, the following samples are taken, to show that even in those times the *courtoisie à la mode de Bretagne* was in vogue, according to which Maximilian calls Henry *frère,* and Henry calls Maximilian *frère et cousin.*

Maximilian I. to Henry VII.

"*Très haut, très puissant, et très excellent prince, très cher et très aimé frère. Nous avons entendu,* &c." At the conclusion: "*Dieu en aide auquel nous prions que très haut et très puissant et très excellent prince, notre très cher et très aimé frère vous ait en sa sainte garde. Ecrit en notre cité de Vienne le* 20e *jour de Juillet,* 1506."

Endorsed: "*A très haut, très puissant et très excellent prince notre très cher et très aimé frère le roy d'Angleterre et de France.*"

Henry VII. to Maximilian I.

"*Au très haut, très excellent, et très puissant prince notre très cher et très aimé frère et cousin le roy des Romains, toujours Auguste,* etc.

"*Très haut, très excellent, et très puissant prince. Notre très cher et très aimé frère et cousin.*" At the conclusion: "*Vous priant de rechef de prendre le tout de bonne part, car nous vous l'écrivons ouvertement et familièrement à bon intention, comme sait notre seigneur, qui, très haut très excellent et très puissant prince notre très cher et très aimé frère et cousin, vous veuille de bien en mieux donner bonne prosperité. Ecrit en notre manoir de Okyng le* 1 *Octobre l'an* 1506."

"*M. P. Votre bon frère et cousin,*

HENRY REX.

MEAUTIS, *M. P.*"

APPENDIX B.

Vol. I. p. 121.

ARMY OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. IN THE SMALKALDE WAR OF 1540.

(According to the Statements of The Imperial Vice-Chancellor Naves.)

GENERALISSIMO.—Duke of Alba.

GENERALS.—1. Giovanni Battista Gastaldo, Count de Platina, Maëstro del Campo, Quartermaster-general, and General of the Cavalry.

2. John Jacob de Medicis, Marquess of Melignano, General of the Upper (South) German and Spanish Infantries.

3. Renard, Count of Solms-Lich, Fieldmarshal.

COUNCIL OF WAR.—1. Alba. 2. Francis d'Este, brother of the Duke of Ferrara. 3. Gastaldo. 4. Medicis. 5. Margrave Albert of Culmbach. 6. Margrave John of Cüstrin. 7. Wolfgang (Schuzbar, called Milchling) Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.

8. and 9. Pietro Colonna and Francis Count de Landriano, Italians. 10. John Lord of Lyra, a German. 11. Conrad von Bemelberg, *Eques auratus*, generally called the little Hessian. 12. Giovanni Battista Savelli, an Italian. 13. Joseph Francis De Eras, secretary of state for war affairs. 14. Luis Pyssayngo, a Spaniard.

General Auditors (Judge-advocates).—1. Dr. Nicolaus Zinner, a German. 2. Joannes Bartholomæus Calchamingus, a Spaniard.

Police of the Camp. — Erasmus von Hoven, Prefect General, a German.

Commissaries General. — 1. Otto, Baron von Waldburg, Cardinal and Archbishop of Augsburg, Commissary General of provisions. 2. John Lord of Lyra, commissary for the whole army, Infantry and Cavalry. 3. Francis Duarte, a Spaniard, commissary of provisions and *providore*. 4. John Jacob de Medicis, commissary of arms, accoutrements, and ammunition. 5. Andrew Dam, commissary of the horses of the Artillery and the ammunition-train. 6. George Brentel, commissary of the horses of the waggon-train.

Brigade-Major (Oberst-Wachtmeister). — Francis Salamanca, for giving out the parole to the guardposts.

Paymasters. — Joseph Francis De Eras, Paymaster General.
Ignatio Peralta, penny-master (accountant of the commissariat).

Ordnance.—Partly guns of heavy calibre (Carthaunen, quartanas); partly field-guns, and partly light field culverins, 40 in number. Count Büren brought with his succours from the Netherlands 12 additional light and heavy pieces, 74 pontoons, and 6000 draught horses for provisions and ammunition.

Miners? — 2500 Bohemians under the command of two master miners.

The army was divided into—

I. Cavalry.

Heavy Cavalry: Cuirassiers, with full armour and cuirassed horses, each man receiving 24 florins per month.

The Light Cavalry: Arquebusiers, each man receiving 12 florins per month.

A. The Imperial household troops composed of noblemen, 400 Light Cavalry, forming the body guard of the Emperor.

General: Emanuel Philibert of Savoy.

Standard bearer: Luis Quixada, a Spaniard, as deputy of John

de Bossu, Baron von Reckenheim, Chief Equerry and shield bearer of the Emperor.

B. Heavy Cavalry of Southern Germany, under four commanders.

1. Archduke Maximilian (afterwards Emperor Maximilian II.), 2000 horse.

His seconds in command were—

Duke Eric of Brunswick-Lalemberg, a convert to Popery.—Duke Philip of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel.—Frederic, Count of Fürstenberg.—Thomas Perrenot, Lord of Chantonney, a son of Granvella.—Sigismund de Lodrona, Chief Equerry of King Ferdinand.—George von Thun, *Eques auratus.*—Wolfgang Pappenheim, hereditary Earl Marshal of the Empire.—Wladislaus Count Bernstein.—Peter, Count Arco.—John, Baron von Wolfenstein.—Maximilian Baron von Polheim.—Lewis Ungnad Baron von Soneck, standard bearer of the Archduke.—William, Baron von Waldburg, hereditary Earl Steward of the Empire.—Egon Count Fürstenberg.

2. Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach, 2000 horse.

His seconds in command were—

Christopher, Landgrave of Leuchtenberg.—Wenceslaus Hais, Baron von Haselberg.—William von Grumpach (afterwards executed at Gotha).—Roch von Streitberg. (The two last being his lieutenants.)

3. Wolfgang, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, 1500 horse.

His seconds in command were—

Otto Count Rietberg.—Philip, Count Eberstein.—Christopher von Wrisberg, his lieutenant.

C. Cavalry from Lower Germany, under the command of—

Maximilian von Egmont, Count of Büren.

The whole consisted of one troop, Italian and Spanish Light Cavalry, and eleven "bands" or troops of Heavy Cavalry, among them five of Cuirassiers, commanded—

(1.) by Büren himself; (2.) by Lamoral von Egmont, Prince of Gavre, his unfortunate nephew; (3.) Renard Lord of Brederode; (4.) John, Lord of Lyra; and (5.) Martin von Roshem.

Büren's lieutenant was John de Ligne, Baron de Barbançon, Prince of Aremberg, the well-trusted general of Queen Maria of Hungary. Philip Montmorency, Count of Hoorn, Egmont's companion in death, likewise served in this division.

D. Spanish and Italian Cavalry.

1. Light Cavalry, arquebusiers, 1130 horse, commanded by—

Philip de Noy (Lannoy), Principe di Sulmone. He had his

brother for lieutenant. Both were of the family of that Viceroy of Naples who took Francis I. prisoner at Pavia.

2. Cavalry furnished by the Pope, 800 horse.

Commander: Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Camerino and Castro, the first husband of Margaret of Parma. His lieutenant was Giov. Batt. Savelli.

To these are to be added 300 Light Cavalry, furnished by the Duke of Florence, under Rodolfo Baliono, and 200 light horse of the Duke of Ferrara, under the command of his natural brother.

3. Heavy Neapolitan Cavalry under Giov. Batt. Spinelli, Duke of Castrovillare. It consisted of 300 picked Neapolitan Knights, commanded by—

The son of Don Pedro di Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, and son of the Duke of Alba. — The son of the Duke of Castrovillare. — Don Pedro, principe di Bisignano.—Don Pedro Gonsalvo di Mendoza.

II. Infantry, about 50,000 men (consisting of German Lansquenets and Swiss, who received 4 florins per month).

A. Upper (South) German Infantry, consisting of 5 regiments, 50 companies (standards, *Fahnen*) at 200, or 300, or 400 men each; altogether of 19,000 men under the following colonels:—

1. John Jacob de Medicis, Marquess of Melignano, general of the Spanish and Upper German Infantry, colonel of a regiment of 13 companies. He had for lieutenant, John Schnabel von Schönstein.

2. Hildebrand Baron Madruzzi, and after his death at Ulm, his brother Nicolaus, colonel of a regiment of 12 companies. His lieutenant — Sigismund von Landenberg.

3. Bernard von Schauenburg, colonel of 10 companies. His lieutenant — George, Count of Helfenstein.

4. George von Regensburg (Ratisbon), and after his death Count John of Nassau-Saarbrück, colonel of 10 companies. Lieutenant: John Schneider.

5. George Dux (von Hegnenberg), a natural son of William IV. Duke of Bavaria, colonel of 5 companies.

B. Lower German (Netherlandish) Infantry, consisting of about 9000 men, divided into 24 companies. They were commanded by two lieutenants of the Count von Büren, who was their colonel.

The two lieutenants were—

George von Holde,
Hilmer von Münchhausen.

C. Spanish and Italian Infantry.

1. Spanish Infantry: 33 companies, amounting to about 8800

men, sent with the forces of Count Büren, by Queen Mary of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, under the command of Pontus Hurtardus a Mendoza and 3 colonels—

Don Alvaros de Sande,
Alphonso Vivas, to whose guard the captive Elector John Frederic was entrusted, and
Jacopo de Arza.

2. Italian Infantry: 2 companies, likewise from Queen Mary, and amounting to about 400 men, commanded by—

Americo Antinoro, and
Alessandro Morengo.

3. Papal Infantry: 60 companies, 11,000 or 12,000 men under Ottavio Farnese. His lieutenant was Alessandro Vitelli. The colonels commanding under him—

Conde di S. Fiore; Sforza Pallavicini; Giulio Ursini; Paolo Vitelli; Nicolo Pitigliano; Federigo Savelli.

To these are to be added four detached divisions.

1. Under Christopher von Wrisberg, 1150 horse, and 19 companies Infantry, amounting to about 6–8000 men. He carried on war on the Weser, especially against Bremen.

2. Under Margrave Albert of Culmbach, 2000 horse and 3000 Infantry in 8 companies. He was detached to Saxony, where he was made a prisoner near Rochlitz.

3. Under Duke Eric of Brunswick, 2500 horse, and about 6000 Infantry in 16 companies. He was detached from Nördlingen on the 14th of March, 1547, and completed the recruiting of his forces in Westphalia.

4. Under Hans Walter von Hirnheim, who enlisted 8 companies near Augsburg and Nuremberg, with which he joined the Emperor near Halle on the 12th of June, 1547.

The army of Ferdinand King of the Romans consisted of—

Cavalry, 1947 horse.
Infantry, 18 companies, about 7–8000 men.

The army of Duke Maurice of Saxony consisted of—

Cavalry, 1600 horse, and
Infantry, 3–4000 men, in 10 companies.

THE ARMY OF THE SMALKALDE ALLIES.

I. Cavalry, 7700 horse.

A. Elector of Saxony: 18 companies, 4000 horse.
Field-marshal Christopher Steinbeck.

Field-marshal Lieutenant Wolfgang von Schönberg, who as the principal traitor, was the first to fly in the battle of Mühlberg.

B. Landgrave of Hesse: 12 companies, about 3000 horse.
Field-marshal, William von Schachten.
Field-marshal Lieutenant, George von Malsburg.

C. Duke of Würtemberg, 700 horse.
Commanders: Count Christopher von Henneberg, and Count George of Montbeliard.

II. Infantry, 64,000 men.

A. Elector of Saxony: 49 companies in 4 regiments, about 18–20,000 men, commanded by—

1. William von Thumbshirn, the Elector's lieutenant, and colonel of 23 companies.
His lieutenant, Wolfgang Mulch.
2. Count Christopher of Oldenburg, colonel of 21 companies.
His lieutenant, Gerard Brunsted, who died in the camp of Nördlingen, and was succeeded by Christian Manteuffel.
3. Count Hubert von Beichlingen.
His lieutenant, N. Hertzberger of Kreutznach.

B. Landgrave of Hesse: 48 companies in 4 regiments, likewise about 18–20,000 men.
His lieutenants: Bernard von Dalem; George von Ravensberg.

C. Duke of Würtemberg: 20 companies under Hans von Heydeck, 9–10,000 men.

D. The Upper German Imperial towns and free cities: 26 companies, under the excellent Knight, Sebastian Schärtlin von Burtenbach, 9–10,000 men.

E. Eight companies of Swiss under Hieronymus Lehel of Memmingen, 3-4000 men.

III. Artillery.

Heavy and light pieces, and culverins: 112.
Commanders: John Dinckel; John Rosenzwick; Alexander Tibau.

APPENDIX C.

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SAMPLES OF THE DIPLOMATIC STYLE AND COURTESY OF THE TIME OF CHARLES V.

1.

Credentials of Count Lamoral d'Egmont, Count Lalaing Jean de Montmorency; Seigneur de Courrières; and Philip Nigry, Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the ambassadors sent by Charles V. to Queen Mary to propose in form for the hand of her Majesty for his son, Philip II. (The negotiations having been successfully brought to an issue by the resident minister, Simon Renard, the three ambassadors extraordinary left Brussels for London on the 21st of. December, 1553. The document is taken from the "Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal Granvella"):—

"Madame ma bonne soeur et cousine.

"J'envoie présentement devers vous mes cousins les comtes d'Egemont et de Lalaing, sieur de Courrières, et chancelier de mon ordre, afin que, jointement avec mon ambassadeur résident devers vous suivant ce qu'a été pourparlé du mariage d'entre vous et le prince, mons fils, en faire la requisition solennelle et pour de ma part et de mon dit fils entrevenir à la conclusion des articles en conformité de ce que de mon coté a été proposé et trouvé bon du votre et par vos conseillers, et pour agréer le changement qu'iceux ont fait en aucuns points et passer du tout le traité, afin que cette bonne oeuvre et dont, comme j'espère, Dieu le créateur sera servi, et nos

royaumes et pays recevront respectivement tout bien et profit, se puisse par-achever et pour, prenant conclusion avec mes dits ambassadeurs, hâter tant plus la venue de mon dit fils, selon que plus particulièrement vous entendrez d'eux, vous priant les croire comme moi même. Et pour non vous travailler de longue lettre, dirai seulement davantage que vous pouvez demeurer tout assurée, que je satisferai et corresponderai jusqu'au bout de tout mon pouvoir à la bonne volonté que j'ai toujours connu vous me portez et ce avec d'autant plus d'affection comme par le parfait de cette alliance d'obligation y sera plus grande, et de tenir le même soin de vos dits royaumes, pays et sujets que des miens propres. Et pour être tant travaillté de la goutte que ne puis bouger la main, j'ai requis la reine de Hongrie ma soeur, écrire cette de la sienne. De Bruxelles ce 21 de Decembre.

"Votre bon frère et cousin,
"CHARLES.

"A Madame, ma bonne soeur et cousine,
la reine d'Angleterre."

2.

Courtesy between Charles V. and his Brother Ferdinand.

"*Monsieur,*" and since his election as King of the Romans, "*Monseigneur mon bon frère.*" At the conclusion, "*A tant, Monsieur mon bon frère, je prie le Créateur vous avoir en sa très sainte et digne garde ;*" or, "*priant Dieu à tant que, mon bon frère, vous donne ce que vous desirez. Votre bon frère,* CHARLES." Ferdinand addressed Charles, "*Monseigneur mon bon frère,*" and signed himself, "*Votre très humble et très obeissant frere,* FERDINAND." All the Spanish letters of Ferdinand to Charles address the letter as, "*Muy alto y muy poderoso Señor,*" and are signed, "*D. V. M. humil ermano y servidor : que sus manos besa, Fernando.*"

3.

Courtesy between Charles V. and Queen Mary of Hungary.

"*Madame, ma bonne soeur ;*" at the conclusion, as above, or, "*je prie le Créateur vous donner, Madame ma bonne soeur, ce que desirez*

Votre bon frère CHARLES." The queen addressed her brother, "*Monseigneur,*" and concluded, "*je prie le Créateur vous donner la sainte bonne vie et longue, et accomplissement de vos bons et vertueux desirs.*" Signed, "*Votre très humble et très obéissante soeur et servante,* MARIE."

4.

Charles to his Sister Eleonora, Queen of France.

"*Madame, ma meilleure soeur,*" or else, "*ma bonne soeur;*" the conclusion, as above. Endorsed,

"*Madame, ma meilleure soeur la reine très chrétienne.*"

5.

5. *Charles V. to Francis I. of France* (1531.)

"*Très haut, très excellent et très puissant prince, très cher et très aimé bon frère, cousin et allié. A vous tant cordialement que faire pouvons, nous recommandons.*" At the conclusion, "*A tant très haut,* &c. &c., *nous prions le Créateur vous avoir en sa très sainte digne garde.*" Endorsed, "*Monsieur mon bon frère le roi très chrétien.*"

Francis to Charles (1531.)

"*Très haut, très excellent et très puissant prince, notre très cher et très aimé bon frère, cousin et allié. Salut, amour, et fraternelle dilection.*" At the conclusion, "*A tant haut,* &c. &c., *nous supplions le Créateur vous avoir en sa très sainte et digne garde. Ecrit à Paris le* 22 *jour de Juin,* 1531.

"*Votre bon frère, cousin et allié,*

"FRANCOYS."

Endorsed,

"*A très haut, très excellent, très puissant prince, notre très cher et très aimé bon frère, cousin et allié l'empereur des Romains toujours auguste, roi des Espagnes,* &c. &c.

6.

Charles V. to Edward VI. of England (1553.)

"*Très haut très excellent et très puissant prince, notre très cher et très aimé bon frère et cousin. Tant et si affectueusement que pouvons à vous nous recommandons.*" At the conclusion, "*Et tant très haut,* &c. &c., *nous prions le Créateur vous avoir en sa très sainte et digne garde.*"

Henry VIII. to Charles V. (1536).

"*Très haut,*" &c. &c. At the conclusion, "*Comme sait Notre Seigneur qui à vous très haut,* &c. &c., *en perpétuelle joie donne prospérité et longue vie. Ecrit en notre château de Dover le* 21 *de Juillet.*

"*Votre bon frère et allié,*

"HENRY."

7.

Charles to Pope Adrian VI. (his old Tutor).

"*Très saint père. J'ai reçu votre lettre* ——." At the conclusion, "*baisant les mains de votre Sainteté, prie Dieu vous donner ce que desirez. C'est de Bruxelles le* 7 *de Mars* (1522), *de la main*

"*De V^re^ Sainteté bon et humble fils,*

"CHARLES."

Pope Adrian VI. to Charles.

"*Très cher et très aimé fils, salut et apostolique benediction. J'ai été fort joyeux vues les lettres que votre majesté m'a ecrit de sa propre main* ——." At the conclusion, "*Sire, je vous prie à Dieu, qu'il vous donne bonne vie et longue. Ecrit à Saragosse le* 3 *de Mai. Le tout votre ad tempus sacræ romanæ ecclesiæ.*"

Charles to Pope Paul III. (Farnese).

"*Beatissime pater, domine reverendissime, Sanctitatis vestræ literas quas sub forma brevis ad nos* 16 *die Junii scripsit, accepimus,* &c. &c. *beatitudo vestra quam Deus optim. max. ecclesiæ suæ universali et reipublicæ christianæ cum summæ dignitatis augmento quam diutissime incolumem* (*habeat*). *Montissoni* 20 *Aug.*, 1537.

"Carolus,
"Divina favente clementia
"Romanorum Imperator augustus &c. &c.."

Paul III. to Charles.

"*Paulus papa III. Charissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.*" In the context, "*Fili charissime.*" "*Datum Romæ apud S. Marcum sub annulo piscatoris die* 16 *Junii* 1537 *pontificatus nostri anno 3.*"

8.

Charles V. to Soleyman II.

(After the truce of 1545.)

"*Serenissimo ac potentissimo domino Solymanno imperatori Turcarum ac Asiæ, Græciæ, &ctr.*

"*Carolus V. divina favente clementia Romanorum imperator augustus et Rex Germaniæ &c. &c. salutem et omnis prosperitatis incrementum. Serenissime princeps——Valeat serenitas vestra. Datum, &c. &c.*"

9.

Shah Ismail Sophi of Persia to Charles V.

(An invitation to join in the war against the Turks.)

"Schaval 924 (Oct. 1518).

"*Karolo Philippi filio.*

"*Essentia Dei in excelsis, pax autem super terram.*" Signed, *Humillimus servorum et maximus amicorum Xaka Ismael Sophi,*

filius Xaiki Hider." Addressed, "*Ad manus (si Deo placet) regis regum principumque principis, regis, imperatoris, cujus dominium et fortunam deus maximus perpetuo continuet. Amen.*"

Charles V. to the Sophi.

"*Carolus Quintus, optimi Dei clementia Romanorum atque christiani orbis imperator semper augustus, rex Germaniæ, Hispaniarum, utriusque Siciliæ, Navarræ, Granatæ, Balearium insularum Fortunatarum atque Indiarum noviquc et auriferi orbis, atque multarum tum in Africa locorum, tum vero in Germania Galliaque principatum dominus, &c. &c.*

"*Serenissimo principi et orientis regum maximo, pio et felici Xaka Izmael Sophi Persarum regi, fratri et amico nostro carissimo a deo optimo maximo, qui in personis trinus in substantia unus est, domino et deo nostro, salutem prosperosque piorum votorum successus. Serenissime rex, frater carissime ——.*" In the context, "*Serenitas vestra.*" At the conclusion, "*Adjuvante eodem deo optimo maximo, qui trinus* &c. &c., *et qui incolumem votorumque suorum compotem serenitatem vestram conservare dignetur. Ex urbe nostra Tolcti* 25 *Augusti, anno ab incarnatione Jesu Christi,* 1525."

Addressed, "*Serenissimo ac potentissimo Principi Domino Xaka Izmael Sophi magno Persarum regi, fratri et amico nostro carissimo.*"

10.

A Patent of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

(For Count William of Nassau, father of William of Orange.)

"*L'Empereur et Roi, Duc et Comte de Bourgoigne, chef et Souverain de l'ordre du toison d'or.*

"Chièr et feal cousin. Pour la bonne et singulière affection que meritoirement vous avons toujours portée et portons, considérant vos grandes vertus et qualités louables, et desirant vous decorer, honorer et elever en dignité, nous chef et les chevaliers et frères du sacre ordre du toison d'or vous avons choisi, élu et nommé chevalier et confrère en celui ordre, comme plus amplement entendrez par le Roi des Romains, monseigneur notre très cher et bon frère, auquel à cet effet avons envoyé le colier d'icelui ordre qu'il vous presentera et

baillera de notre part, vous priant icelui accepter, recevoir et porter, et vous en tenir honoré, et ausurplus vous conduire selon les statuts, chapitres et règles du livre du dit ordre que le dit Seigneur roi, notre frère, vous montrera, et duquel en bref vous envoyerons copie. Et ce faisant trouverez nous et tous les dits chevaliers et confrères d'entière affection et perpetuelle amitié et benivolence, comme sait le Créateur, qui, cher et féal cousin, vous aie en sa très sainte garde. Ecrit à Mantua, le second de Decembre, 1532."

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